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PURĀṆA

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His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja
Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh
Commemoration Volume

VYSĀ-PURṆIMĀ NUMBER

व्यासपूर्णिमाङ्कः

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B. 5 Nov.1927] [D. 25 Dec. 2000

His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh

HIS HIGHNESS KASHINARESH MAHARAJA DR. VIBHUTI NARAIN SINGH

H. H. Kashi Naresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh was born on the auspicious eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika (celebrated by pious Hindus as the day when Lord Viṣṇu wakes after his slumber through the months of rains) of the Vikrama Saṁvat 1984 which corresponds to November 5, 1927. He breathed his last in the holy precincts of hallowed Kashi on the 15th day (Amāvāsyā) of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa Saṁvat 2057 i.e. 25 Dec. 2000. This day was another auspicious day as Amāvāsyā on a Monday is recognised as doubly sanctified. After a tumultous and unprecedented outpouring of grief by the citizens of the city of Varanasi and the realm of the Kashiraj, his mortal remains were consigned to the flames on the banks of the sacred Ganges at holy Maṇikarṇikā. His son Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singh performed the last rites in accordance with the traditions of Kashiraj and the dictates of the scriptures.

Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh ji ascended the throne of Kashiraj in April 1939 when his father Kashi Naresh Maharaja Sir Dr. Aditya Narain Singh passed away. His tenure as Kashiraj continued for a long 61 years and at the the time of his death he was the seniormost among the rulers of the sovereign princely states of India.

Kashi Naresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh ji lived a life based entirely on the basis of truth, good conduct, fellowfeeling and benevolence towards all. He maintaied and adhered to the ideals set for a monarch without even slight departure from the straight path. His character was sublime and he never coveted any thing belonging to others, did not even touch any such things. He was so rigid in such matters that when he went out of Benares state for long or short sojourns he would even carry sufficient amount of earth from here, so that he could use it for washing his hands and for his daily worship of Lord Śiva in his 'Pārthiva' form. He never used soap throughout his life and used only the waters of the holy Gangā brought specially from Haridwar (the place where Gangā leaves the Himalayan ranges and enters the great plains of north India) for drinking.

In his daily life he was meticulous in performing his pūjā-arcanā and thrice Saṁdhyā vandanas as part of his daily routine. He even performed his evening Saṁdhyā at the appropriate hour on the day he breathed his last. He was regular in his readings from the Vedas, Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Rāmacarita Mānasa and Vinaya Patrikā. During his last days he was associated with a host of religious, educational and medical institutions in the city of Varanasi and the Kashirajya. He was the chairman of the board of trustees of the world famous golden temple consecrated to Lord Vishwanath, the Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, the Pro-chancellor of the Sampurnand Varanaseya Sanskrit University, permanent chairman of the governing council of two charity hospitals in Varanasi city namely Ramakrishna Mission Hospital and Maa Anandmayee Hospital, and the patron of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha (the premier institution established in the last years of the 19th century to strengthen and propogate the Hindi language in all its aspects). He was associated with numerous bodies dealing with cultural, musical, sports, religious or social issues as a patron and helped all these institutions to the best of his abilities and resources. His involvement in these institutions was always to the exclusion of any personal gain even nominal, and was truly philanthropic.

He always maintained contact and good relations with the noted saints, holy ācāryas e.g. Śaṁkarācāryas of the various pītha's, learned persons in various fields not limited to oriental or Sanskrit studies in which he took special interest, eminent jurists and prominent leaders of the country. He paid respects to those who were deserving, helped all and did not crave anything in return. He never recieved any gifts from any person howsoever high or mighty but made gifts on suitable occasions to them. He made common cause with his subjects and fellow citizens and treated them as his own. They in return gave him their unbounded love and respect. This fact was brought into focus the day he passed away. Throughout the long cold December night and almost throughout the next day, ordinary people in their thousands queued up to pay their respect to their beloved Mahārāja whom they had always greeted with loud shouts of **'Har Har Mahādeva'**. His funeral procession was miles long.

Education of the populace had been one of the subjects of real concern for Kashi Naresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singhji. Taking a cue from his ancestors who not only created the Benares Sanskrit College (now Sanskrit University) but also took active part in the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University by donating land, buildings and money, the Mahārāja established a chain of degree colleges in his eastwhile domains. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh took special interest in the education of girls as he had imbibed the tradition of the mother being the first teacher of the child. So during the 1980's-1995's several degree colleges for girls were

started by the Maharaja. He endowed them with lands and buildings and also financial support. He took special care to see that well qualified faculty is appointed in these institutions so that quality education can be provided.

Sanskrit language was dear to Maharaja Dr.Vibhuti Narain Singh's heart. He wanted to see this language spread not only in India but also in the wide world. He strove to ensure that at least one University devoted to Sanskrit Studies in all its aspects be established in each state of the Indian Union. He strained mightily for this purpose but was only partially successful. He believed that only Sanskrit has the capability to be a language for the whole world. In order to spread his gospel about the use and strength of the Sanskrit language he maintained personal contact and friendship with Sanskrit scholars both in India and abroad. Indian scholars e.g. Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. R.N. Dandekar , M.M. Mirashi, M.M. D.V. Potdar, M.M. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi, M.M. Narayan Shastri Khiste, Acharya Baldeo Upadhyaya, Acharya Pattabhi Ram Shastri, Acharya Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Dr. Ramkaran Sharma, Dr. Mandan Misra, Dr. P.L. Vaidya and as well as foreign oriental and Sanskrit scholars e.g. T. Burro, Norman Brown, L. Sternbach, John Roger Reivere, Alex Wayman, J. Gonda etc. were his personal friends and intimates. He used to correspond frequently with these and other scholars in order to ensure the expansion of the sphere of Sanskrit knowledge and learning.

All India Kashiraj Trust

The sovereign state of Kashi which was a princely state in British India was merged into the newly constituted Indian Union in 1949. At the time of this merger it was the unanimous opinion of all concerned that the religious, cultural and educational traditions which were an integral part of the administration of this State be continued, with no curtailment, when the State became a part of the Union. The man responsible for the integration of the large number of Princely states in the Union and the then Dy Prime Minister of the Indian Union Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel made a public announcement and also included a written assurance to the effect that the tradition and high esteem enjoyed by the Kashiraj from time immemorial would be maintained and protected by the Indian Union :

"This day may mark the termination of the Banaras State, but it cannot end the existence of that institution which has continued from very ancient times. Kashi Rajya is the outcome of our ancient traditions. The holy city of Kashi is the object of faith and devotion for millions of men and women from all parts of the country. So long as humanity feels proud of its ancient traditions, its religions, its culture and civilization, until that time the name of Kashi will continue to remain immortal. I assure Kashi Naresh and the people of Kashi Rajya that we shall preserve the sacred character of Kashi and its name by the best possible means in our power."

October 15, 1949 VALLABH BHAI PATEL,

Home Minister, Government of India.

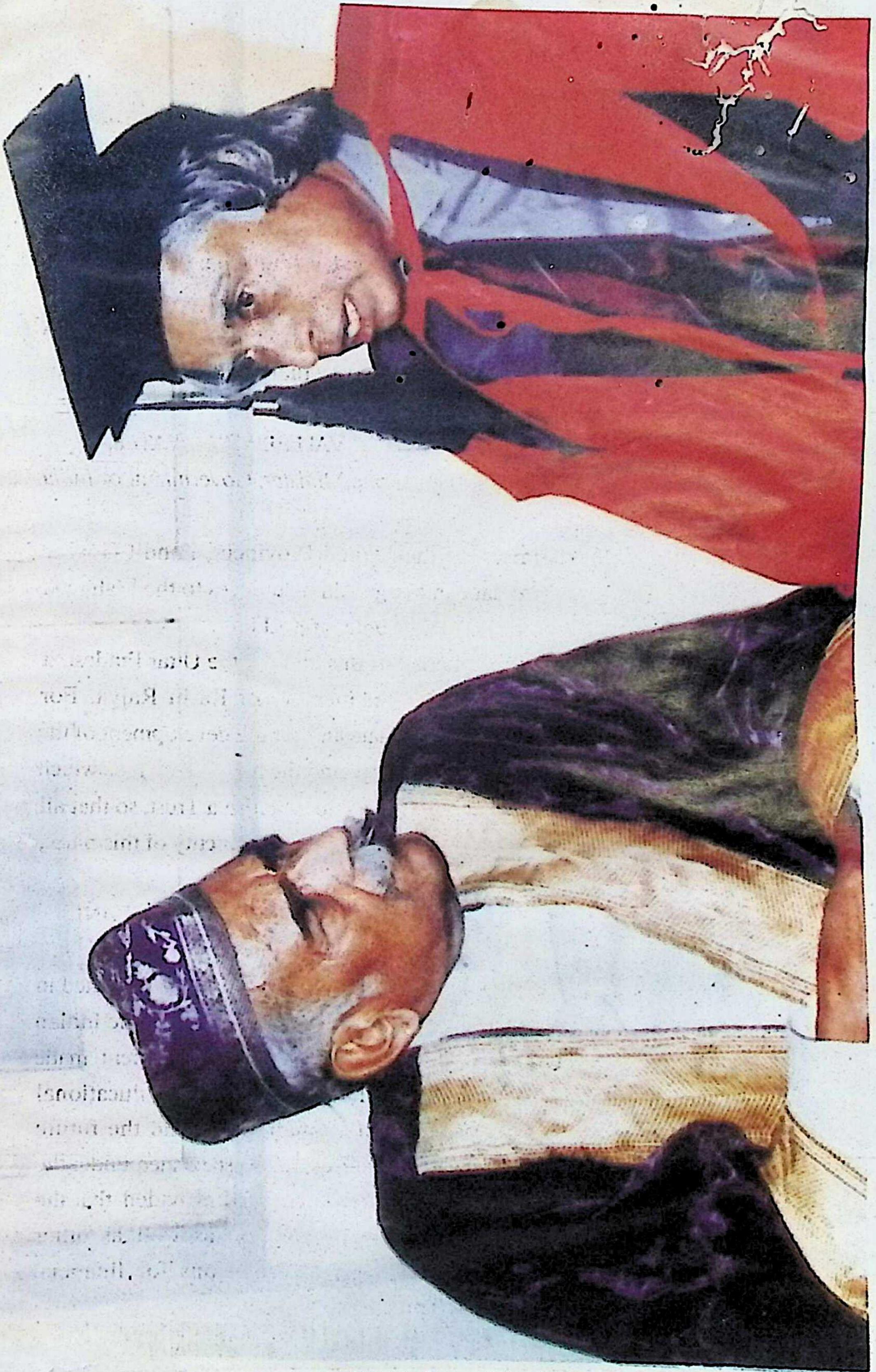
The then Chief Minister of the United Provinces, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant also gave the same message and assurances to the Maharaja of Kashi and more importantly to the public of Kashi :

"I hope that even after the merger of this State in the Uttar Pradesh it will be possible to preserve suitably the memory of Kashi Rajya. For preserving the peculiar features of this state and for the development of the ancient culture, the great Sanskrit language and the holy institutions which are supported by this State, we contemplate to establish a Trust, so that all those institutions which have been held dear for the sanctity of this place, may flourish and develop under the new set-up."

October 15,1949 GOVIND VALLABH PANT,

Chief,Minister, Uttar Pradesh.

These provisions and assurances were duly incorporated and recorded in the documents pertaining to the merger of the Kashi Raj into the Indian Union. The collateral letters attached to the merger agreement made specific and clear provisions that the cultural, religious and educational traditions of the eastwhile Kashiraj will be maintained and the future continuance would be ensured through a Trust to be established under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Kashi. It was also provided that the governments of United Provinces, Indian Union as well as other government bodies will make appropriate provisions for financial assistance and patronage to the Trust.



Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam (now President of India) after receiving the D. Sc. Degree (Hon.) of the Banaras Hindu University with His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, then Chancellor of the University. (16 March 1991)

It was under these provisions of the charter of integration that in 1955 the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Maharaja, H.H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, of Kashi jointly founded the All India Kashiraj Trust. It is remarkable that in the Trust deed the names of the President of India and that of the Maharaja appear as the two parties through whose agreements the Trust is being established. The Trust Deed was personally prepared by the then Governor of United Provicnces, an ex-minister in the Union Government and eminent legal luminary Dr. K.M. Munshi. The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Dy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Governor of U.P. Dr. K. M. Munshi, Chief Minister of U.P. Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant and education minister of U.P. Dr. Sampurnanand actively participated in the formation of this Trust. The Trust was formally inaugurated by the first President of the Indian Union Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 12 January 1958. He said the following memorable words on that occasion :

"The noble work of this Trust to complete the Purāṇas which are teeming with knowledge deserve to be commended and patronised by the countrymen".

"Even at the present age new knowledge could be gathered in abundance by probing into the Purāṇas which are sought to be compiled by the Trust."

"It was a welcome move that in Varanasi the ancient seat of learning sustained and planned efforts were being made to preserve the good in our past culture and literature."

"I hope that the Trust will bring out cheap and beautiful editions of the Purāṇas so that people might draw inspirations from them."

The representative of the Union Government on the first Board of Trustees was the retired Indian Civil Service officer and able administrator Dr. Pannalal. The Government of U.P. was represented on this board by Dr. Sampurnanand and Pandit Kamala Pati Tripathi. The members nominated by the Kashi Naresh H.H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh were illustrious educationist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Maharaja Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau (Malwa) and famous industrialist Pandit M.L. Mehta. Later on Dr. Raghunath Singh, Panditraj Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Pandit Badeo Upadhyay, Dr. R.N. Dandekar, Pandit Girdhari

Lal Mehta and Dr. Mandan Misra were trustees. At present the Central Government is represented by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayana an eminent scholar of Indian culture, while the U.P. Government is represented by Sri Krishna Chandra Pant and Pandit Lokpati Tripathi, and Sri J.P. Singh a retired I.A.S. is the nominee of H.H. Sri Anant Narain Singh on the Board of Trustees. The Maharaj was assisted and helped in the administration, policy decisions and guidance of the Trust's activities, especially by Dr. Sampoornanand, Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi, Dr. Panna Lal, Dr. Raghunath Singh, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. In academic matters he was helped by Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. V.S. Agrawala Dr. P.L. Vaidya, Dr. R.N. Dandekar, Pt. Baldeo Upadhyay, Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Dr. Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, Dr. Ram Karan Sharma, Acharya Vishwanath Prasad Misra, Dr. N. Gangadharan, Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai etc. These scholars actively participated in the various aspects, critical assessment, research publications, editing and printing of the scholarly publications. Many foreign scholars eg. T. Burro, L. Sternbach, J. Gonda, Juavan Roger Rivere etc. also actively cooperated in the activities of the Trust and its various departments.

Purāṇa Project

After the establishment of the Trust, in addition to the other activities the Trust undertook upon itself the publication of scientifically and critically edited texts and commentaries of the Purāṇas 'The first meeting of the relevant scholars and concerned members of the Trust was held in the heavily forested and sylvan surroundings near Chakia. This was attended by Dr. R. N. Dandekar of the Bhandarkar Institute also. Work initially started on Matsya and Vāmana Purāṇas. Editorship of the Matsya Purāṇa was taken up by Dr. V. Raghavan while Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawala took upon himself the responsibility of Vāmana Purāṇa. Later on the work of Vāmana Purāṇa was completed by Sri Anand Swarupa Gupta who also edited the Kūrma and Varāha Purāṇas on the same lines. The Critical Editions of these Purāṇas were released at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Michigan, USA and Canberra, Australia and at the Vth World Sanskrit Conference held at Varanasi (India) respectively. These were reviewed and unequivocally appreciated by well known journals dealing with oriental studies. Later on English and Hindi translations of these Purāṇas were also brought out.

These translations have also been acclaimed by scholars. A series on Studies in Purāṇa was also started in which studies on Matsya Purāṇa, Garuḍa Purāṇa and Nārada Purāṇa have been brought out. These were prepared by eminent Puranic scholars and have earned wide acclaim. Several other studies have also been published. An authoritative study on Durgā Saptaśatī and the Name Index of Liṅga Purāṇa were also brought out by the Trust after thorough investigation. A tribute to Maharṣi Veda Vyāsa was published by Dr. V. Raghavan with the title Homage to Vyāsa. This included the ślokas relating to Veda Vyāśa appearing in the various Purāṇas, Mahābhārata and Brahma Sūtras etc. Another study related to the Rāmāyaṇa was published under the title 'Greater Rāmāyaṇa' again by Dr. Raghavan. As a contribution to studies on Indian Astronomy (Jyotish) the report of the Union Government's Calendar Reform Committee chaired by eminent scientist Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S. was brought out by the Trust in Hindi translation. This made the Report accessible to a much wider audience.

The Trust Published the first critical edition of the Rāmacaritamānasa edited by Prof. Vishwanath Prasad Mishra which was released on 12 January 1962 by Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru at Shiwala premises of the Trust. On 8 April 1983 Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi presided over the Silver Jubilee Function of the Trust and released the translation volumes of the Varāha Purāṇa. Both Prime Mincsters Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi highly spoke about the quality of the works done by the *All India Kashiraj Trust*. At the time of the release of first critical edition of the Rāmacaritamānasa on 12 January 1962 Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said :

महाराजा साहब और सज्जनो,

आज आपने यहाँ बुलाकर और इस कार्य में शरीक करके मुझे खुशी दी । खुशी हुई मुझे और मैं आप सबका अनुगृहीत हूँ । आपने जो चन्द शब्द कहे, तो उसमें एक सौ वर्ष की कहानी सुनायी हमें कि कैसे यह कार्य आज के सौ वर्ष पहले शुरू किया था आपके पूर्वजों ने और यह चलते-चलते बीच में, शायद रुक भी गया । तो फिर आपने दुबारा उस काम को आगे बढ़ाया और एक शुद्ध खात्मा हुआ, आपने आज उसे मुझे दी ।

जो काम सौ वर्ष में पूरा हुआ, समय के लिहाज से वह बहुत बड़ा काम था । यह सौ साल का समय एक विशेष समय हो जाता है । अलावा इसके रामचरितमानस की

प्रतियाँ देख उसका एक शुद्ध एडीशन निकालना आवश्यक बात थीं और हिन्दी साहित्य और दुनियाँ के तमांम साहित्यों के लिए बहुत अच्छी बात थी ।

दुनियां में प्रसिद्ध बहुत सी पुस्तकें हैं, कोई धार्मिक या और इस तरह से उनका मुकाबला करना कठिन है । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ दुनियां में बहुत कम पुस्तकें ऐसी हैं जिसका असर आम जनता पर इतना अधिक पड़ा है जितना किं तुलसीदासजी के रामचरितमानस का । यह तो हमारे लिए, भारत विशेषकर उत्तर भारत के लिये, ऐसी पुस्तक है, जो दिलों दिमागों में बँध गयी है । मुझे वर्षों हुये, आश्चर्यं होता है शायद ३० वर्ष ४० वर्ष की बात कह रहा हूं । बहुत दिन की बात, जब गांवों में जाता था, अवध के गांवों में जाता था तो बहुत से अनंपढ़ किसान जिन्हें नाम तक लिखने का ज्ञान नहीं था, वे रामचरितमानस को गाते थे, दुहराते थे । इतना याद था कि वे उसे दुहराते थे । मुझे आश्चर्यं भी होता था और खुशी भी । मैंने महसूस किया कि कैसे तुलसीदास ने हमारे जीवन को ढाला है । यानी जो एक अक्षर पढ़ नहीं सकते थे रामचरितमानस उन्हें याद था । उनके मन में मानस सुनते-सुनते याद हो गया था । अपनी बातों का उपमा में दोहे कह देते थे । उनकी सांस्कृतिक शिक्षा हो गयी, उनका दिमाग खाली नहीं था जैसा कि अशिक्षित या अपढ़ लोगों का होता है । बल्कि मैं कहूंगा कि उनकी शिक्षा ज्यादा अच्छी हुई बनिस्बत उनसे जो कुछ लिखना-पढ़ना जान लें और दिमाग में गहरायी न हो । यानी गहरायी उनके दिमाग में आ गई । इस तरह कई सौ बरस से इस बड़ी पुस्तक ने हमलोगों को ढाला ।

इससे ज्यादा बड़ाई या प्रशंसा किसी पुस्तक की क्या हो सकती है, जिसका इतना असर है । वह सदा ही होता जायगा । ऐसी पुस्तक का शुद्ध एडीशन निकले यह एक जरूरी काम था और आप, महाराजा और आपके परिवार ने जो इस वड़े काम को उठाया और पूरा किया उन्हें मैं बधाई देता हूँ और आचार्यं भी, जिन आचार्यों ने इस कार्य को किया उन्हें भी बधाई देता हूँ । यह कहानी रामचरितमानस की तुलसीदासजी की पुस्तक तो प्रसिद्ध ही है, दक्खिन में हमारे देश की और भाषाओं में यह कहानी चलती है, प्रसिद्ध है ।

इतना जैसा कि मैंने शुरू में कहा बहुत कम पुस्तकें होंगी या कहानियाँ होंगी जिसने इतना जबरदस्त असर किसी जाति, कौम या देश पर डाला है । हमारे लिये वह बहुत कीमती है । हमारे इतिहास का ही हिस्सा नहीं हमारे करोड़ों आदमियों के दिलों का हिस्सा हो गयी है ।

मैं फिर से आपको, राजा साहब आपको और आचार्य लोगों को बधाई देता हूँ ।

Later on Presidents of India Sri Gyani Zail Singh, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma and Dr. K.R. Narayanan during their visit to Varanasi received the publicatins of Trust and appreciated it.

The Purāṇa department of the Trust has been organising Seminars and symposia on relevant topics from time to time. For example in the

year 1991 an International Seminar was organised on Ayodhyā-History, Tradition and Archaeology by this department. The papers presented in this symposium were also brought out in book form with the same title.

Purāṇa Bulletin

In order to publish research work performed by Indian and foreign scholars on various aspects of puranic studies, the Trust started a six-monthly journal. This journal entitled 'Purāṇam'is bilingual, publishing articles, comments, book reviews etc. in Sanskrit and English. The publication was inaugurated with the blessings of the late Paramācārya of Kanchi, H.H. Chandrasekharendra Saraswati, in 1959 and has continued uninterruptedly for the last 44 years. The journal has published in the past and continues to publish, research articles of eminent oriental scholars from all over the world and has acquired an unenviable position in the field of oriental studies.

The extensive and excellent work carried out by the Purāṇa Department of the All India Kashiraj Trust during the past almost half century, is wholly due to the erudition, love of Sanskrit and Sanskriti, hard work and guidance which was available in the person of the late Mahārāja H.H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh of Benares. It was he who took personal interest in contacting eminent scholars from far and wide to contribute their mite towards this work and his personal charm and influence are largely responsible for the success of these endeavours. The past Secretary of the Trust late Sri Ramesh Chandra De and the present Secretary Sri Yogendra Narain Thakur have also contributed significantly to whatever success the Trust has achieved by taking care of all bureaucratic details in time.

The Present Volume of Purāṇa

The Trust decided to dedicate the two issues of Purāṇa bulletin, scheduled for publication this year 2002, to the sacred memory of the late Maharaja. After deliberations at various levels, it was resolved that it would be worthwhile to collect together all those articles which were authored by scholars with deep personal ties to the late Kashinaresh. Many of these articles were actually specially prepared for this journal on

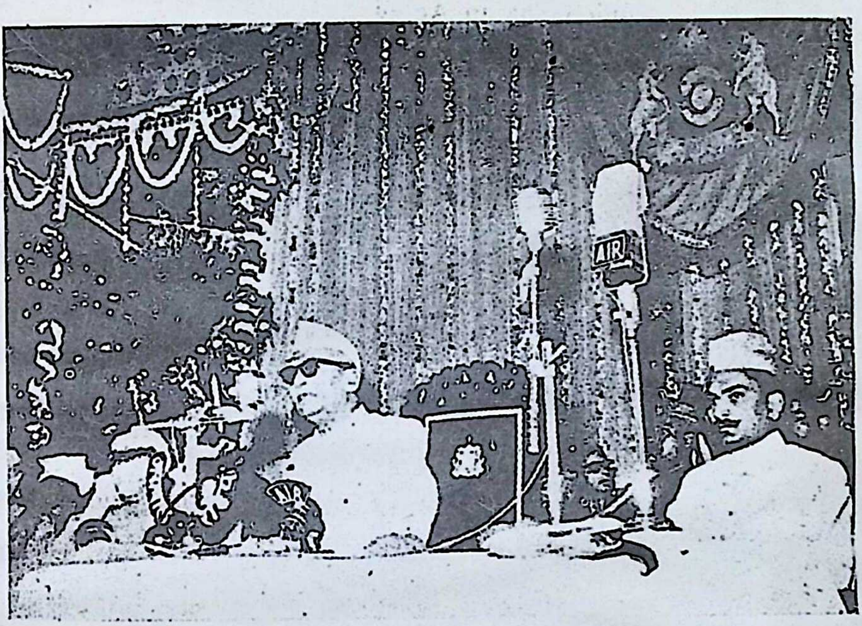
personal request of the Maharaja. Since most of the illusrious authors who penned these articles are themselves no longer alive, this volume will also serve partly as a tribute to those great scholars. It would be appropriate to mention in this connection M.M. Pt. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi, M.M. Pt. Anant Krishna Shastri, Pandit Badri Nath Shukla, Panditraj Rajeswara Shastri Dravid, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawal, Dr. R.N. Dandekar, Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Dr. J. Gonda, Dr. J.R. Reviere, who are no more and whose articles represent research of undying importance. Fortunately some of the authors who were in contact with the late Maharaja and received guidance and support from him are still alive. Three new articles are also included in this collection as they were also prepared on specific instructions of the late Maharaja by authors in contact with him. It is hoped that this effort in bringing out the two issues of Purāṇa in a combined form with these special articles, selected in the manner described above, will offer a tribute to the many faceted personality of the late Kashi Naresh. Of course, it would be difficult to offer a tribute which is truly worthy of him.

His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh spoke extempore wherever he had to speak. In all his speeches he expressed his heartfelt feelings without any reservation and those were highly appreciated by the listeners. Hovever, his two speeches in Sanskrit, both welcome addresses to oriental Sanskrit scholars were published elsewhere. These are appended at the end of this volume. Both addresses exhibit Maharaja's vast and sound erudition and deep concern for preservation and propagation of Sanskrit learning and Indian Culture.

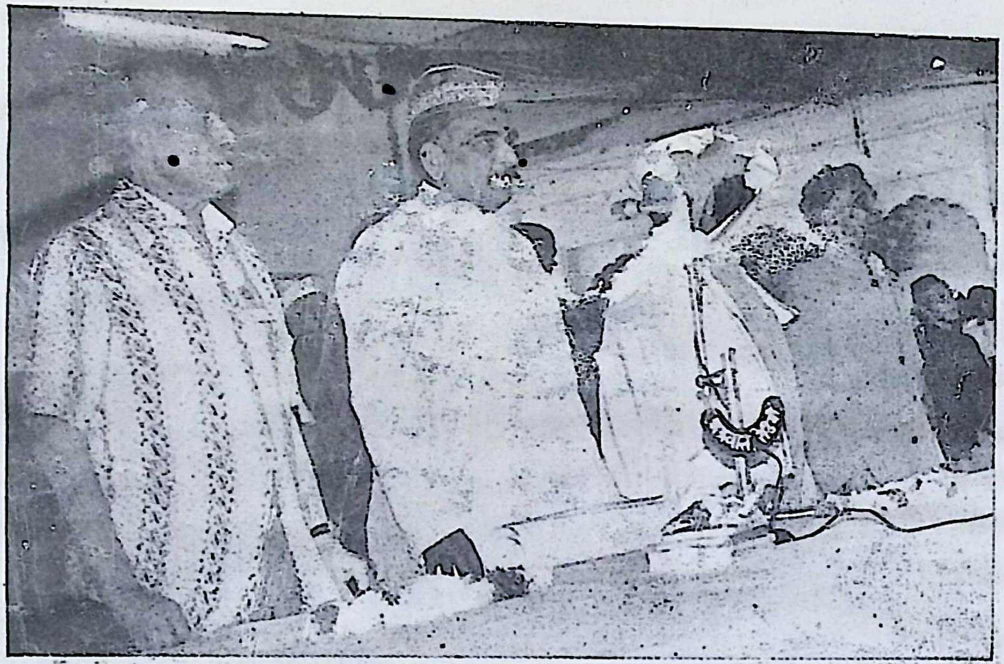
This issue is being brought out under the special care and guidance of the H.H. Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singhji. He has taken upon himself the cause of maintaining and nurturing the excellent traditions of scholarship and reverence to the ancient Śāstras inherited from his illustrious father. It is our prayer to the Lord Almighty that he succeeds in this holy mission.

'न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद् दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति ।।

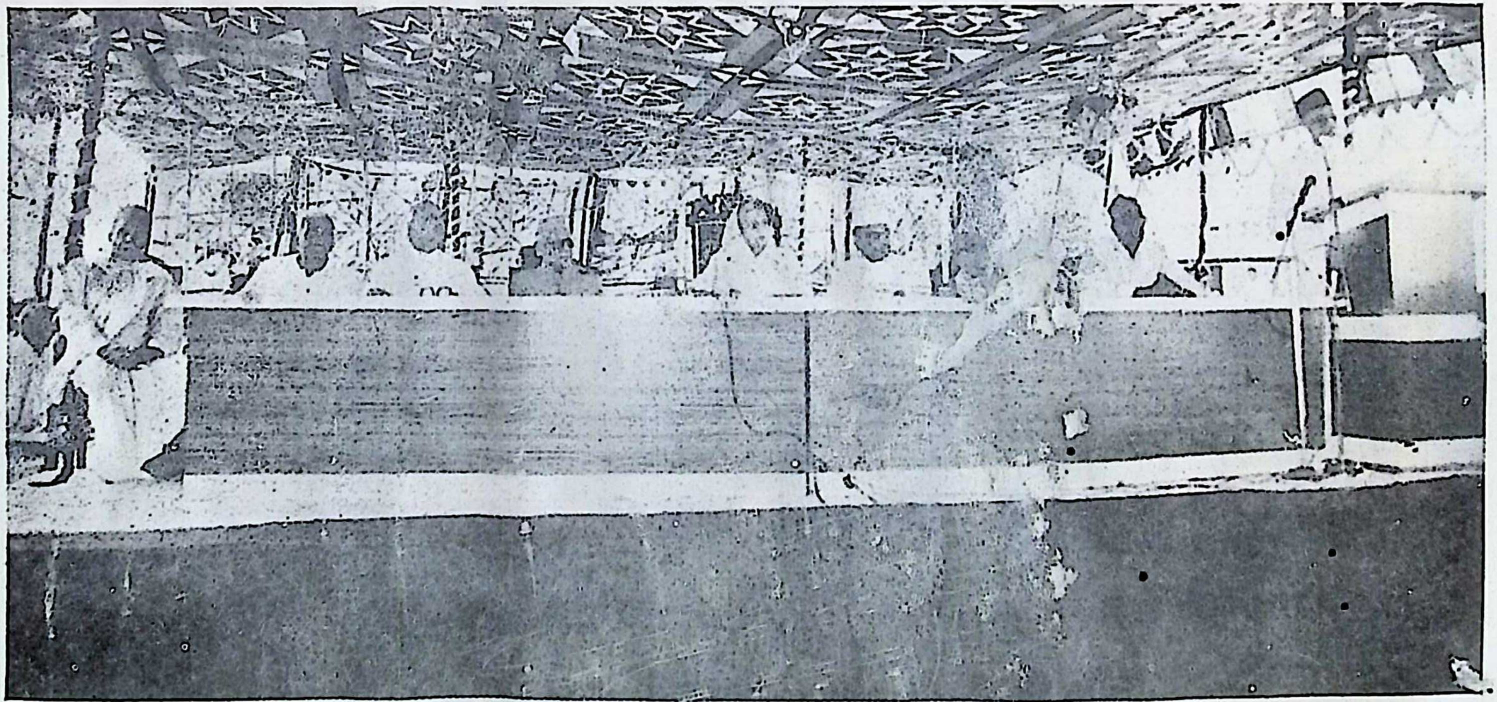
Ganga Sagar Rai



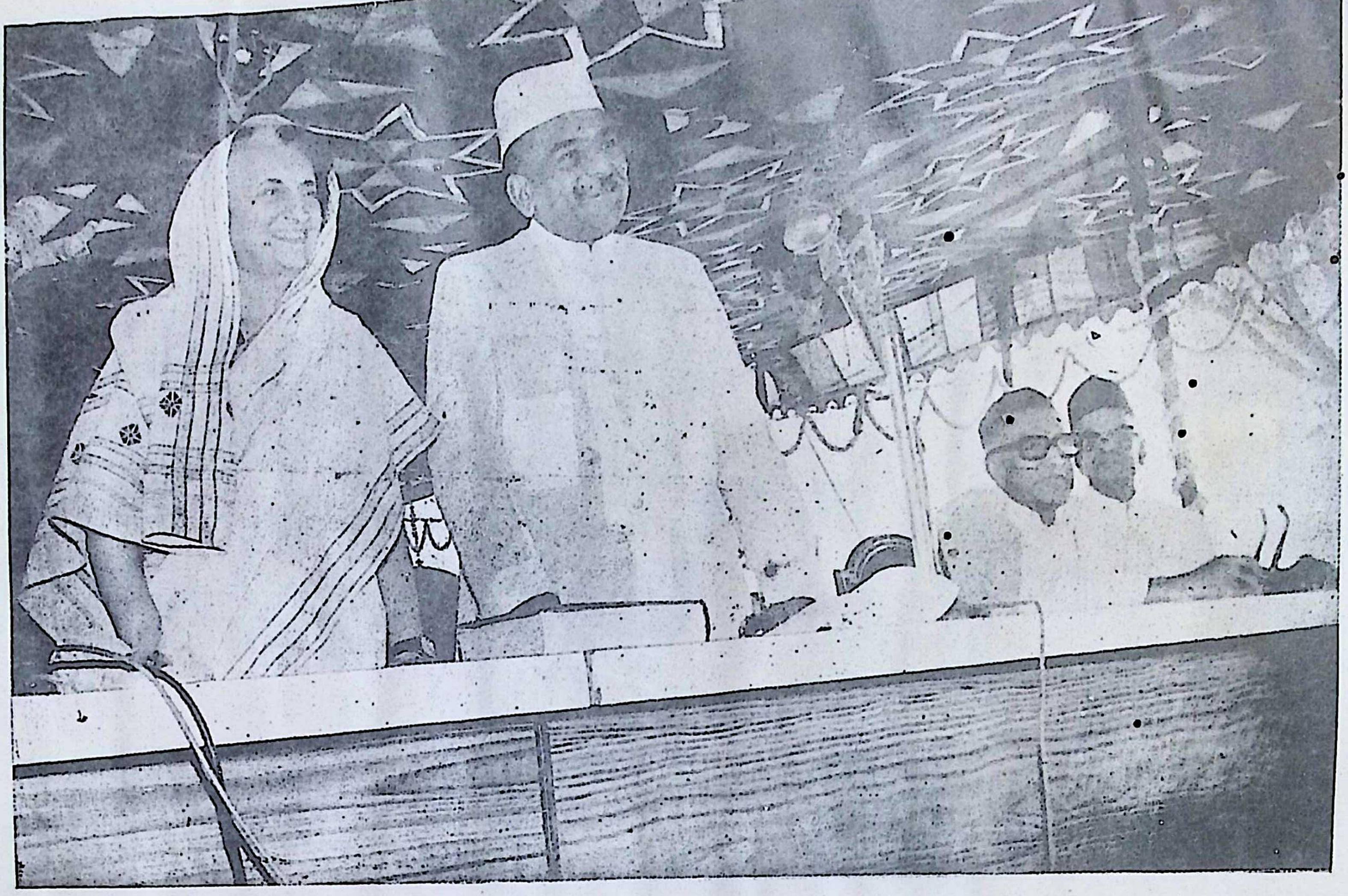
Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India, inaugurating the All-India Kashiraj Trust on January 12, 1958, while His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh (right) looks on.



Dr. Jean Filliozat, His Highness, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Maharajkumar, Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau observing a minute silence as a mark of respect to the memory of Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor of Varāha Purā a—at the Inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—24 October 1981.



A view of the dais at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—8 April 1983 : (l to r) Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya (Trustee), Dr. Raghunath Singh (Trustee), Hon'ble Sri Sripati Misra, Chief Minister of U. P., His Excellency Sri C. P. N. Singh, Governor of U. P., Hon'ble Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi, His Highness, Kashinaresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi (Trustee), Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau (Trustee), and Sri Girdharilal Mehta, reading the progress report of the Trust for 25 years.



At the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Trust—3 April 1983—Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi and Kashinaresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in a happy mood.

हिमवत्कृता देवीस्तुतिः

(कूर्म पु. १.११.२१९-२५१)

हिमवानुवाच

[अद्य मे सफलं जन्म अद्य मे सफलं तपः ।
यन्मे साक्षात् त्वमव्यक्ता प्रसन्ना दृष्टिगोचरा ॥ २१९]

त्वया सृष्टं जगत् सर्वं प्रधानाद्यं त्वयि स्थितम् ।
त्वय्येव लीयते देवि त्वमेव च परा गतिः ॥ २२०

वदन्ति केचित् त्वामेव प्रकृतिं प्रकृतेः पराम् ।
अपरे परमार्थज्ञाः शिवेति शिवसंश्रये ॥ २२१

त्वयि प्रधानं पुरुषो महान् ब्रह्मा तथेश्वरः ।
अविद्या नियतिर्माया कलाद्याः शतशोऽभवन् ॥ २२२

त्वं हि सा परमा शक्तिरनन्ता परमेष्ठिनी ।
सर्वभेदविनिर्मुक्ता सर्वभेदाश्रया निजा ॥ २२३

त्वामधिष्ठाय योगेशि महादेवो महेश्वरः ।
प्रधानाद्यं जगत् कृत्स्नं करोति विकरोति च ॥ २२४

त्वयैव संगतो देवः स्वमानन्दं समश्नुते ।
त्वमेव परमानन्दस्त्वमेवानन्ददायिनी ॥ २२५

त्वमक्षरं परं व्योम महज्ज्योतिर्निरञ्जनम् ।
शिवं सर्वगतं सूक्ष्मं परं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥ २२६

त्वं शक्रः सर्वदेवानां ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मविदामसि ।
वायुर्बलवतां देवि योगिनां त्वं कुमारकः ॥ २२७

ऋषीणां च वसिष्ठस्त्वं व्यासो वेदविदामसि ।
सांख्यानां कपिलो देवो रुद्राणामसि शंकरः ॥ २२८

आदित्यानामुपेन्द्रस्त्वं वसूनां चैव पावकः ।
वेदानां सामवेदस्त्वं गायत्री छन्दसामसि ॥ २२९

अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां गतीनां परमा गतिः ।
माया त्वं सर्वशक्तीनां कालः कलयतामसि ॥ २३०

ओङ्कारः सर्वगुह्यानां वर्णानां च द्विजोत्तमः ।
आश्रमाणां च गार्हस्थ्यमीश्वराणां महेश्वरः ॥ २३१

पुंसां त्वमेकः पुरुषः सर्वभूतहृदि स्थितः ।
सर्वोपनिषदां देवि गुह्योपनिषदुच्यसे ॥ २३२

ईशानश्चासि कल्पानां युगानां कृतमेव च ।
आदित्यः सर्वमार्गाणां वाचां देवी सरस्वती ॥ २३३

त्वं लक्ष्मीश्चारुरूपाणां विष्णुर्मायाविनामसि ।
अरुन्धती सतीनां त्वं सुपर्णः पततामसि ॥ २३४

सूक्तानां पौरुषं सूक्तं ज्येष्ठसाम च सामसु ।
सावित्री चासि जप्यानां यजुषां शतरुद्रियम् ॥ २३५

पर्वतानां महामेरुरनन्तो भोगिनामसि ।
सर्वेषां त्वं परं ब्रह्म त्वन्मयं सर्वमेव हि ॥ २३६

रूपं तवाशेषकलाविहीन-
मगोचरं निर्मलमेकरूपम् ।
अनादिमध्यान्तमनन्तमाद्यं
नमामि सत्यं तमसः परस्तात् ॥ २३७

यदेव पश्यन्ति जगत्प्रसूतिं
वेदान्तविज्ञानविनिश्चितार्थाः ।
आनन्दमात्रं प्रणवाभिधानं
तदेव रूपं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ २३८

अशेषभूतान्तरसन्निविष्टं
प्रधानपुंयोगवियोगहेतुम् ।
तेजोमयं जन्मविनाशहीनं
प्राणाभिधानं प्रणतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २३९

आद्यन्तहीनं जगदात्मभूतं
विभिन्नसंस्थं प्रकृतेः परस्तात् ।
कूटस्थमव्यक्तवपुस्तथैव
नमामि रूपं पुरुषाभिधानम् ॥ २४०

सर्वाश्रयं सर्वजगद्विधानं
सर्वत्रगं जन्मविनाशहीनम् ।
सूक्ष्मं विचित्रं त्रिगुणं प्रधानं
नतोऽस्मि ते रूपमलुप्तभेदम् ॥ २४१

आद्यं महत् ते पुरुषात्मरूपं
प्रकृत्यवस्थं त्रिगुणात्मबीजम् ।
ऐश्वर्यविज्ञानविरागधर्म-
समन्वितं देवि नतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २४२

द्विसप्तलोकात्मकमम्बुसंस्थं
विचित्रभेदं पुरुषैकनाथम् ।
अनन्तभूतैरधिवासितं ते
नतोऽस्मि रूपं जगदण्डसंज्ञम् ॥ २४३

अशेषवेदात्मकमेकमाद्यं
स्वतेजसा पूरितलोकभेदम् ।
त्रिकालहेतुं परमेष्ठिसंज्ञं
नमामि रूपं रविमण्डलस्थम् ॥ २४४

सहस्रमूर्धानमनन्तशक्तिं
सहस्रबाहुं पुरुषं पुराणम् ।
शयानमन्तः सलिले तथैव
नारायणाख्यं प्रणतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २४५

दंष्ट्राकरालं त्रिदशाभिवन्द्यं
युगान्तकालानलकल्परूपम् ।
अशेषभूताण्डविनाशहेतुं
नमामि रूपं तव कालसंज्ञम् ॥ २४६

फणासहस्रेण विराजमानं
भोगीन्द्रमुख्यैरभिपूज्यमानम् ।
जनार्दनारूढतनुं प्रसुप्तं
नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव शेषसंज्ञम् ॥ २४७

अव्याहतैश्वर्यमयुग्मनेत्रं
ब्रह्मामृतानन्दरसज्ञमेकम् ।

युगान्तशेषं दिवि नृत्यमानं
नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव रुद्रसंज्ञम् ॥ २४८

प्रहीर्णशोकं विमलं पवित्रं
सुरासुरैरर्चितपादपद्मम् ।
सुकोमलं देवि विशालशुभ्रं
नमामि ते रूपमिदं नमामि ॥ २४९

ॐ नमस्ते महादेवि नमस्ते परमेश्वरि ।
नमो भगवतीशानि शिवायै ते नमो नमः ॥ २५०

त्वन्मयोऽहं त्वदाधारस्त्वमेव च गतिर्मम ।
त्वामेव शरणं यास्ये प्रसीद परमेश्वरि ॥ २५१

Translation

Himavat said:

[Today my life is fructified, today my penances have born fruit that thou, the unmanifest hast been pleased to reveal visibly before my very eyes.] (219)

The entire universe has been created by thee, all the world beginning with Pradhāna is located in thee, and in thee, O Goddess, all becomes merged, thou indeed art the ultimate resort. (220)

Some say that thou art Prakṛti, while others assert that thou art beyond Prakṛti. Others who know the supreme truth call thee as Śivā, O thou dependent on Śiva. (221)

In thee have sprung up Pradhāna, Puruṣa, Mahat, Brahmā, as well as Īśvara, Avidyā, Niyati, Māyā and hundreds of 'Kalā's (arts) and various other. (222)

Thou art that Sovereign Power, Infinite Parameṣṭhinī, free from all distinctions, independent and the resort of all distinctions. (223)

O thou the lord of meditation, the great god Mahādeva, produces the entire world starting with Pradhāna, and also dissolves it, depending on thee O great goddess. (224)

In communion with thee the lord enjoys his bliss; thou indeed art the highest bliss, thou indeed art the bestower of bliss. (225)

Thou art undecaying, the high sky, the great splendour, free from stain, auspicious, omnipresent, subtle, the perpetual supreme spirit. (226)

Among all the deities, O Goddess, thou art Indra, among those versed in Brahman thou art Brahmā, Vāyu among the mighty, and (Sanat) Kumāra (or Kārtikeya), among the Yogins. (227)

Thou art Vasiṣṭha among the sages, Vyāsa among those proficient in the Vedas, Kapila among the adherents of Sāṁkhya (philosophy) and Śaṁkara among the Rudras. (228)

Of the Ādityas, thou art Upendra (Viṣṇu), Pāvaka (Anala) thou art among the Vasus, Sāmaveda among the Vedas and Gāyatrī among the metres. (229)

Thou be the spiritual Knowledge among all the branches of learning, the final beatitude among the goals, illusion (Māyā) among all powers, and Kāla (time or death) among all destroyers. (230)

Thou be the syllable 'Oṁ' among all mysterious objects , the excellent Brāhmaṇa, among the castes (Varṇas), the householder among the stages of life (āśramas), and lord Maheśvara among the deities, among men thou art the sole Male situated in the hearts of all beings. Among all the Upaniṣads, O Goddess, thou art spoken of as the Mysterious (Guhya) Upaniṣad. (231,232)

Among the great periods (Kalpas) thou art Īśāna, and among the ages (Yugas) thou be the Kṛta Age, Āditya among all the Mārgas and the goddess Sarasvatī among the speeches. (233)

Thou art Lakṣmī among the graceful forms, Viṣṇu among the adepts in Māyā, Arundhatī among the chaste ladies, and Garuḍa among the birds.

Of the hymns, thou art the Puruṣasūkta, and among the Śamans the jyeṣtha Sāman. Among the Mantras fit for repetition thou art Sāvitrī, and among the Yajuṣ-es thou art Śatarudriya.

Thou art Mahāmeru among the mountains, Ananta among the serpents; thou be the supreme Brahman in all objects, everything indeed is permeated by thee. (236)

I bow to that form of thine, which is absolutely free from all transformation, is imperceptible, free from impurities (stainless), unchangeable which has neither beginning nor middle nor end, infinite, original, the highest truth, beyond darkness. (237)

I seek refuge with that form (of thine) which the masters of the knowledge of Vedānta; view as the origin of the universe, that which is blissful and termed as Praṇava. (238)

I bow down to that form which abides within all the beings, is the source of the union and separation between Pradhāna and Puruṣa, luminous; free from birth and destruction and termed as Prāṇa (vital energy) (239)

I bow to that form of thine which is called as Puruṣa and is devoid of beginning and end, the soul of world, abinding in various forms, beyond Prakṛti, standing at top (or the supreme soul) of unmanifest figure. (240)

I bow to that form of thine which is the resort for all, the producer to the entire world, moving everywhere, devoid of birth and death, subtle, variegated, invested with the triple qualities, Pradhāna, without any different shape. (241)

I bow to that great form of thine, O Goddess, which is termed as Puruṣa, abiding in Prakṛti, the soul seed of the triple qualities, and associated with wealth, wisdom, unattachment and piety. (242)

I bow to that form of thine termed as the egg of the universe, which is composed of fourteen regions, located in the waters, lorded over solely by the (Supreme) Puruṣa, resorted by endless creatures and constituted of many distinctions. (243)

I bow down to the form located in the orb of the sun, embodying the entire Vedas, singular, original, permeating the different regions with its own glory, the cause of the triple times, termed as Parameṣṭhin. (244)

I bow to that form (of thine) known as Nārāyaṇa, having a thousand heads, possessed of infinite might, the ancient Male having a thousand arms and lying in water. (245)

I bow down to that form of thine termed as Kāla, which is terrific with teeth, is venerable to the gods, equal to the great fire at the end of an Age, the cause of the dissolution of the entire creation. (246)

I bow to that form of thine termed as Śeṣa which has a thousand hoods adored by the lords of serpents, ridden over by the body of sleeping Janārdana. (247)

I bow to that form of thine named as Rudra, possessed of unobstructed (flow of) supremacy, of uneven (three) eyes, familiar with the bliss derived from the ambrosia of a knowledge of Brahman, survived even at the end of ages and dancing in heaven. (248)

I do bow to this form of thine. O Goddess, which is free from grief, is absolutely pure, with its lotus-feet extremely delicate and shining white adored by gods and demons. 249)

Oṁ, Obeisance to thee, mahādevī, obeisance to thee O supreme Goddess, obeisance Bhagavatī, Īśānī, obeisance again and again to thee Śivā. (250)

I am absorbed in thee, thou art my receptacle, thou art also my goal O great Goddess, I seek refuge in thee. (251)

Note on the Stuti

From verses 220 to 226 the Goddess is eulogiged as supreme creator and destroyer of the universe. She is described as Prakṛti, beyond Prakṛti and Sivā. From her sprung Pradhāna, Prakṛti, Mahat, Brahman, Iśvara, Avidyā, Niyati, Māyā and hundreds of Kalās. She is free from all distinctions and resort of all distinctions. Depending on her Mahadeva creates the all universe. She is described as Śiva, omnipresent, subtle and eternal Brahman.

From verses 227 to 236 on imitation of Gītā (ch. 10) she is described as all the important gods, sages, vidyās etc. The influence of Gītā is visible in these verses.

In these verses all important masculine and feminine objects and persons are described as the forms of the Goddess. However in other Purāṇas all masculine objects are regarded as Viṣṇu or Śiva while feminine objects are accepted as Lakṣmī or Gaurī

देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यादौ पुन्नामा भगवान् हरिः ।
स्त्रीनाम्नी श्रीश्च विज्ञेया Viṣṇu P. I. 8.35 and
पुंलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या ये ते च रुद्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
स्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या याः सर्वा गौर्या विभूतयः ॥ Liṅga P. II.11.18

From verses 238 to 249 the Goddess is eulogiged as Prāṇa, Puruṣa, world-egg, sun, Nārāyaṇa, Kāla, Śeṣa, Rudra etc.

–Ganga Sagar Rai

PURĀṆA APOCRYPHA : A "MAṆIPURA-PURĀṆA"† *

BY

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे मणिपुरप्रदेशे मेथेइभाषायां प्रचलितानां पुराणसदृशानाम् आख्याना-नामुत्पत्तिविकासविषयादीनां विवेचनं कृतम् । महर्षिर्व्यासः आर्येषु अनार्येषु मिश्रितजातिषु च प्रचलितानां परम्पराणामाख्यानानाञ्च संग्रहाय प्रयत्नं कृतवान् । संस्कृतभाषायां निबद्धानामासां कथानां परम्पराणाञ्च 'पुराणम्' इति संज्ञा बभूव । व्यासानन्तरं तस्य शिष्यप्रशिष्यैः परवर्तिपुरुषैश्च काले काले पुराणेषु नवीनसामग्रीं समावेश्य तेषां विस्तारः कृतः । पुनश्च खिष्टीयसंवत्सरस्य प्रथमशताब्द्यां पुराणसंख्या 'अष्टादश' इति स्थिरा बभूव । पुराणानां परिभाषा स्वरूपं च पुराणेषु निर्दिश्यते । किन्तु पुराणसंख्यायाः स्थिरीकरणानन्तरमपि तेषां विकासप्रक्रिया नावरुद्धा । पुराणेषु नवीनविषयाणां संग्रहः पूर्ववदेव प्रचलितः, येन उपपुराणांनां सृष्टिर्जाता । तेषामपि संख्या 'अष्टादश' इति स्थिरीकृता ।

किन्तु पौराणिकविषयाणां विकासो नावरुद्धः । यथा संस्कृते तथैव हिन्दी-मराठी-वंगला-तमिलप्रभृतिषु भाषास्वपि नानाख्यानानां निर्माणं संग्रहश्च जातः । ते देशीय-भाषासंग्रहाः केनापि कारणेन संस्कृते नानूदिताः पुराणेषु च न समावेशिताः । एतान्या-ख्यानानि विषयाश्च संस्कृतपुराणसदृशान्येव अतस्तानि देशीयभाषापुराणानीति संज्ञामर्हन्ति यथा तमिलभाषायां रचितानि स्थलपुराणानि ।

एतादृश्यः कथा लोकभाषासु बहुलतया प्राप्यन्ते, यथा वसिष्ठस्य चीनगमनं ततः चीनाचारस्य वा भारते आनयनमिति क्वचित् तन्त्रेषु दृश्यते । अनेका रामकथा लोकभाषासु प्रचरन्ति । प्रथमशताब्दीमारभ्याष्टादशशताब्दीपर्यन्तं विकासमापद्यमाना राधाकृष्णकथाऽपि लोकभाषासु श्रूयते । इमाः सकलाः कथा देशीयभाषापुराणानि । विभिन्नसंस्कृतीनां कथानां देवानाञ्च सामञ्जस्यस्थापनाय आसु कथासु प्रयत्नो दृश्यते ।

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†. Purana Vol. VI, Na 2 (July, 1964) pp. 285-306

*. Reprinted from Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown, C. American Oriental Society, 1962, New Haven, Conn. *Printed in U.S.A.*

Materials are available in the Maṇipuri language. Publications in English and Maṇipurī by Paṇḍitarāja Ātombāpu Śarmā and Mutum Jhulon Ṣingh have appeared (See Singh's English work the *Bijaya-Panchali*, published from Imphal, Maṇipur). Mention may be made of Lairenmayum Iboongohal Singh's *Introduction to Maṇipur*, Imphal Manipur, 1960, which contains a mass of information about the Brahmanical set-up in Maṇipur.

मणिपुरीयमेथेइभाषायामपि एतादृश्यो नाना कथाः श्रूयन्ते । तत्रस्थः संस्कृतविद्वान् श्री आतोमबापु शर्मा मेथेइ पौरोहित्यवर्गाणां ब्राह्मणीयपुरोहितवर्गैस्सह सामञ्जस्यं स्थापयितुं प्रयत्नमकरोत् । तत्र मेथेइभाषायां पुराणसदृशा नाना कथा वर्तन्ते । तासु तत्रत्यदेवानां हिन्दूदेवैस्सह एकीभावः स्थापितो दृश्यते । यथा 'मइ' इत्यस्य ब्रह्मणा सह, 'इशिंग' इत्यस्य विष्णुना सह, 'नंशित' इत्यस्य शिवेन सह, 'सोरारेल' इत्यस्य इन्द्रेण सह, 'मर्जिंग' इत्यस्य कुबेरेण सह । एकायाः कथाया अनुसारेण शिवः प्रथमं स्वर्गतः मणिपुरभूमावेवावततार । तत्प्रेरणया सप्त देवा अपि तस्मिन्प्रदेशे अवतीर्णाः । मणिपुरीयभाषापुराणेषु एषां देवानां हिन्दूसप्तग्रहैस्सह एकीभावः कृतो वर्तते । एतत्कथानुसारेण शिवः पार्वत्या सह मणिपुरभूमौ महारासं कृतवान् । तस्मिन् महारासे देवा आगताः । नागलोकात् अनन्तोऽप्यागतः यस्य शिरोमणिप्रकाशेन सकलं तत्स्थलमुद्भासितमभूत् येन कारणेन च अस्य स्थानस्य 'मणिपुरम्' इति संज्ञाऽभूत् । लोइथक-लोइखरोल (Loithak-Loikharol) नामके मेथेइभाषाग्रंथे सृष्टिप्रक्रिया विशेषतो मानवसृष्टिरपि वर्णिता वर्तते । अतियगुरु शिदोब तेषां प्रधानतमो देवः । लोइथक लोइखरोल ग्रन्थे अन्याः कथा अंपि कथ्यन्ते यासां संस्कृतपुराणैस्सह सामञ्जस्यं न वर्तते । चित्रभानोर्गन्धर्वस्यापि वर्णनं तत्र वर्तते । चित्रभानुवंशस्य संस्कृतपुराणपद्धत्या वंशक्रमोऽपि वर्णितः । अस्य कन्या चित्राङ्गदा इति कथिता तस्याः विवाहः अर्जुनेन सहाभवत् । इत्थं महाभारतस्य कथायाः मणिपुरीयविचारपद्धत्या सामञ्जस्यं सम्पादितम् । इदमनुमीयते यदियम् अर्जुनस्य कथैव मणिपुरीयकथानां पुराण- सरणौ आनयनाय प्रेरिका सञ्जाता ।]

The religious literature of India has a continuous history from the time of the first compilation of the two great masses of compositions which have been labelled under one or the other of the two heads–*Nigama* and *Āgama*. This urge for compiling lyric and narrative literary matter which was current orally into definite "books" started from the end of the Vedic period, when a new people came into being,–the composite Indian or Hindu people. As F.W. Thomas has said in his remarkable book *Expansion of Indianism* (Calcutta University, 1938), "It was at the end of the Vedic period that the *Indian Man* came into being." A new people with elements from at least four different and distinct groups, with languages and cultures of their own, started being formed, and this people began to expand, immediately after its formation, throughout the whole of India. The pre-Aryan peoples of India–the Austrics, the Mongoloids and the Dravids–were welded together into one people with the Aryans; and this happened at first largely under Aryan control and organisation, with the Aryan language becoming the accepted language of this new people. In North India, the pre-Aryan languages, because of want of cohesion among them, yielded place to the Aryan speech. As a result of this, we

now find the greater part of North India to have become Aryan-speaking. But in South India, although the social and cultural organisation was effected through the Aryan speech *par excellence*, viz., Sanskrit, the Dravidian languages formed consolidated blocs which could not be much disturbed or removed by the Aryan language

A mixed people, with the Aryan language as its common speech, started establishing itself on the Indian scene and taking virtual possession of it (at least in Northern India) from about the 10th century B.C., if not earlier. The social, religious and political organisation of this mixed people, the ancient Hindu people, was taken in hand by two great personalities, Vyāsa, who gave to this people its literature and helped to stabilize its social order, and Kṛiṣṇa who gave it some of its most profound ideologies. Vyāsa and Kṛiṣṇa were both half-castes–Vyāsa's father, Parāśara, was a Brāhmaṇa, but of mixed origin, and Vyāsa himself had a non-Aryan mother; while Kṛiṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, was an Aryan Kṣatriya, and his mother Devakī was an Asura or non-Aryan princess. Vyāsa was a unique personality, who unquestionably has a historical background, and it was he who first started to collect the extant literature current among the Aryan-speakers in his time. The floating mass of hymns as well as ritualistic directives, which were to be found among the wise men and priests of the Aryan-speaking *Herrenvolk* as well as their clients, was collected by him and arranged into the four Veda books, and therefore in Indian tradition he is called *Vyāsa* or "the Arranger." He also appears to have started a movement to collect all the legendary and historical traditions and stories which were current among this growing mixed people with its Aryan speech–people, both of pure Aryan, and non-Aryan as well as mixed origin–and these myths and legends and tales and traditions which formed repository of the old history and old memories of the people came to be known as the *Purāṇas*. Thus the two main streams of Indian religious literature–the *Veda* and the *Purāṇa*, with their later developments, which came also to be known respectively as *Nigama* and *Āgama*, came into the Indian scene. As regards Kṛiṣṇa, he presented, among other things, the spirit of compromise between Aryan and pre-Aryan or non-Aryan in the domain of thought as well as formal religion; he also like Vyāsa, can be looked upon as a historical person, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in the *Mahābhārata* presenting some of the basic things in the ideology he gave to India.

The Purāṇa literature went on having an unchecked development or expansion in subsequent periods. From after the time of Vyāsa, the stream

of Vedic literature, at least in its generally accepted authentic form, became, from the nature of the case, restricted, and it finally for all practical purposes became a closed scripture. But the Purāṇas continued to be expanded in the form of various compilations and texts without any abatement. In later times, when the Purāṇa tradition was well-established, there would appear to have been a desire to prevent this unchecked or unfettered expansion of Purāṇa literature through every generation incorporating fresh materials. Probably during the beginning of the first millennium after Christ, the Purāṇa literature was sought to be closed against further accretions by declaring their number to be eighteen (this eighteen is significant as a favourite number in Hindu India : we have thus, for example, the eighteen *Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*, and we have the eighteen Purāṇas, and the multiples of eighteen are also known : eighteen is a combination of the Aryan decimal basis of computation *plus* the Dravidian habit of computation of the basis of eight). And the Purāṇas, which were thus declared to be eighteen and not more in number, were all fathered upon Vyāsa, since the national memory of the ancient Hindus remembered that it was Vyāsa who originally started the movement for compiling and propagating the Purāṇas, through a line of disciples among whom Sauti Lomaharṣaṇa was the first and the most illustrious. In a mnemonic verse which is fairly old and is said to occur in one of the Purāṇas, we have an enumeration of these eighteen Purāṇas :

Bha-dvayaṃ Ma-dvayaṃ caiva, Bra-trayaṃ Va-catuṣṭakam /
A-Nā-Pad-Liṅga-Kū-Skāni Purāṇānīti kathyate //

"The two *Bhas (Bhāgavata and Bhaviṣya), the two Mas (Matsya and Mārkaṇḍeya), the three Bras (Brahma, Brahmaṇḍa and Brahmavaivarta), and the four Vas (Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Vāmana and Varāha), and Agni, Nārada, Padma, Liṅga, Garuḍa, Kūrma and Skanda*–these are declared to be the *Purāṇas.*"

These Purāṇas are the repository of a huge mass of Indian lore, legendary, historical, didactic, ritualistic, scientific, philosophical, legalistic and what not. They are also the repository of a large mass of imaginative literature which was collected under Brahmanical inspiration and were given place in these huge collections. The Purāṇas represent only a part of that astonishingly large mass of literary output which was the glory and, at the same time, one of the most bewildering things in Indian civilisation, the other masses being found in similar collections brought together by the Buddhists (in both Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit) as well as by the Jainas (in

both the various Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa, and Sanskrit). But this attempt to restrict the Purāṇas to a limited number (so that, as in the case of the *Nigama* or the Vedic literature, a generally accepted canon could be established in these eighteen only) did not succeed in the Brahmanical world. The type of literature found in the Purāṇas went on accumulating, and the number grew, and newer additions or compilations became popular and began to have some authority or recognition. These were also collected as *Upa-Purāṇas.* Their number is also looked upon as eighteen, although they are not so voluminous as the Purāṇas. Then the *Mahābhārata* was there, which embodied in itself the saga of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas which were in all likelihood historical, going back to the 10th century, B.C., but there was also quite a large mass of narrative, didactic, historical and romantic as well as philosophical and folk-loristic material which were embodied in it and gave this book its unique character, and made it almost like a Purāṇa. Then the supplementary addition to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hari-vaṃśa,* was another great book in the Purāṇa tradition

The nature of the Purāṇas, their genesis and development is now attracting the attention of scholars in India. The lead given by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, when it took up a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* some 40 years ago, with the intention of finding out a definite ancient vulgate text for the *Mahābhārata* by careful collation of manuscript material from the whole of India, and the success with which this work was being pursued, gave an impetus in the direction of bringing out critical editions of the Purāṇas. A similar edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been taken in hand by the Sayaji Rao University of Baroda (The *Rāmāyaṇa* has its proper place beside the *Mahābhārata* as one of the two National Epics of India, but in its origin the *Rāmāyaṇa* is different from the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas–the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a book on a single theme, although this theme is composite in its various components, and it bears the mark to a very large extent of a single personality as its original author or the final redactor). The University of Gujarat in Ahmedabad has similarly taken in hand the most popular of all the Purāṇas, namely the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* The All-India Kashiraj Trust of Varanasi (Banaras) has undertaken as one of its great objectives a critical edition of the Purāṇas, as many as it would be possible for it to achieve. The Trust has taken up the *Matsya Purāṇa* first, and collation work is now proceeding, under the direction of the veteran Sanskrit scholar of India, Professor V. Raghavan of the University of Madras.

The history of the development of Indian thought and culture will have a great light thrown on it through the proper study and elucidation of the Purāṇas. In ancient India, in the Purāṇas themselves, attempts were made to formulate the nature of their contents and their intentions. Brahmanical India is agreed in looking upon the Purāṇas as being a continuation, although along new lines, of the Vedic tradition. The Purāṇas are consequently regarded as being just of the nature of an amplification as well as new interpretation of the spiritual ideas of the Vedas. This is generally accepted. About their contents, some *rationale* was sought to be discovered in the bewildering mass of heterogeneous material which is presented by the Purāṇas in their totality. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* which is one of the later books in this class, the following verse seeks to indicate the character and the contents of the Purāṇas :

Sargo 'syātha Visargaś ca
Vṛttirakṣāntarāṇi ca /
Vaṁśo Vaṃśānucaritaṃ
Saṃsthā hetur Āpāśrayaḥ //

In the *Devī Bhāgavata* we have a similar statement of the nature of Purāṇa contents :

Sargaśca Pratisargaśca
Vaṃśo Manvantarāṇi ca /
Vaṃśyānucaritañ caiva
Purāṇam Pañca-lakṣaṇam //

In the other Purāṇas also there is a consideration of the contents of the Purāṇa (see the Sanskrit article entitled *Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni* by Mm Pandit Sri Giridhara, Sarma Chaturvedi in the Journal, *Purāṇa*, Varanasi-Banaras, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1960, pp. 130 ff.; also the article in the same Journal in Sanskrit by Sri Badarinatha Sukla, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, July 1960, pages 43 ff., the article with the title *Purāṇānāṃ-Lakṣaṇāni*). From this it is clear that the orthodox Brahmanical opinion regarding this proper contents of the Purāṇas were more or less accepted, and they are said to consist primarily of the following matters :

(1) Creation of the Universe (*Sarga* or *Visarga*); (2) Occasional Dissolutions of the Universe (*Pratisarga.* or *Vṛtti-rakṣā*: *Saṃsthā-hetu. Apāśraya*): (3) The Genealogy of the Gods. Divine Kings and Sages (*Vaṃśa*): (4) Epochs or Different Ages in the History of the World

(*Antara, Manvantara*); and finally, (5) The Deeds of the Gods, Kings and Sages (*Vaṃśānucarita or Vaṃśyānucarita*), etc.

But actually we find in the Purāṇas much more than the above topics, and excepting in some Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* the subject-matter is not confined to these topics alone.

As a matter of fact, the Purāṇas are mostly a sort of huge collection of all popular lore as well as religious doctrines, dogmas and rituals, didactic and philosophical discussion. and above all, of stories, generally edifying, relating to the gods and men.

The *Purāṇas,* as it could be easily seen, are not confined to the stories and traditions of the Aryan people only. With the development of the Hindus as a mixed people, whatever was current among the various component elements, Aryan, Dravidian, Austric as well as Mongoloid, was known to the ever-increasing Aryan-speaking Hindu population, both as an Aryan or as a non-Aryan inheritance, was taken over by the Brahmans, and all this mass of materials of heterogeneous origin was accepted and put in Sanskrit. Sometimes these stories were current in the various Prakrits, and were of a folk or popular character all through, and it was easy to render them into Sanskrit. But frequently in this process much of the old Prakrit character of the language survived in the Sanskrit (which was of the nature of a palimpsest). This was noted by the first Purāṇa investigators like F.E. Pargiter and others. When the original stories were in a non-Aryan speech, it all depended upon the extent to which the legends and stories current among these non-Aryan speakers were assimilated by the newly formed Brahmanical world, that these were early rendered into Sanskrit or they were late in being adopted; and, in many cases they have not been brought within the orbit of Sanskrit as yet. Whenever they were put into Sanskrit, their incorporation in one or other of the Purāṇas was easy. As a matter of fact, we can very well say that the heterogeneous and conflicting character of the Purāṇas in their story material and their folk-lore elements is due to this basic fact, namely they represent whatever was current among the all absorbing and ever-growing Hindu people of ancient and early mediaeval India, whether by way of story or popular wisdom or social usage, and whatever was not directly in opposition to the Brahmanical synthesis, was allowed to find a place in the Purāṇas. As there was no limit to this vast population of India, of diverse origin in race and originally having different languages and types of culture, and as there was the widest amount of accommodation, the Purāṇas came to be the true repository of the floating mass of popular

literature in all departments of life, expressed in terms of the Sanskrit language.

Thus from the very nature of the case, there was an unbounded and unrestrained scope for the Purāṇa to expand. Even some Brahmanical scholars wanted to bring about some kind of literary discipline, and tried to put on the brake by restricting the scope of the Purāṇa, and defining its subject-matter; but this was powerless to achieve the end. A Purāṇa canon was tacitly established, embracing the eighteen major Purāṇas. But then the Upa-Purāṇas had to be admitted after that. The Upa-Purāṇas are just in the same line, and we cannot call them "Purāṇa Apocrypha" in the strict sense of the term–they were just continuations of the Purāṇa literature which obtained some kind of recognition fairly early, and they are virtually and admittedly part of the same class of compositions as Purāṇs. But outside of the mass of literature which became available in Sanskrit as in the eighteen "Canonical" Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas, the story-telling urge of the people of India has continued and has created other cycles of legends and stories. Sometimes the myths and legends and stories of non-Aryan peoples who did not come within the fold of Hinduism in fairly ancient times have continued in the original languages, whether Austric or Dravidian or Sino-Tibetan. Even then there have been attempt occasionally to bring them within the pale of the Hindu Purāṇa. Local legends of the gods and goddesses and of kings and wise men are found all over India. Sometimes in the shape of *Māhātmyas* or "Glorious Tales" (like the medieval European *Aurea legenda* or "the Golden Legends" of Christian saints and martyrs), they were rendered into Sanskrit and were docketed within the Purāṇas like, for example, the *Skanda Purāṇa* and the *Padma Purāṇa*. Sometimes they were not rendered into Sanskrit, although they were within the range of Hindu stories, and as such they have remained outside the orbit of the All-India Purāṇa canon; and they are found in Tamil and Bengali, Hindi and Marathi and other languages. We have, for example, the whole series of *Sthala-Purāṇas* which are found in the Tamil country, which are really Purāṇas connected with the particular holy places and with the gods presiding over them. We can mention in this context the Tamil Saivite *Periya-Purāṇam*, compiled in the tenth-eleventh century by Chekkilar, a work which has acquired the high authority and popularity of the Sanskrit Purāṇas.

Here we have before us a whole mass of proper "Purāṇa Apocrypha" in languages other than Sanskrit. There are many stories which have a Purāna character, but which still remain outside of the Purāṇas only

because there was no attempt at any time to render them into Sanskrit and include them in one of the well-known or canonical Purāṇas. Yet these stories are nevertheless current and are implicitly looked upon as genuine Purāṇa stories, although they are not in Sanskrit and are in the various modern Indian languages. In some cases, these may have been rendered into Sanskrit, but are for some reason or other outside of an all-India Purāṇa canon. Thus the story of Śāmba going outside India to Śakasthāna and bringing from there a new cult of the sun-god is well-known, but the story of Vaśiṣṭha going to China and bringing from there the cult of the Tantric goddess Tārā and introducing into India the ritual of the Chinese–the *Cīnācāra* or Vāmācāra (or "left-handed ritual"), is not so well-known, although it has been narrated in some of Brahmanical Tantras. Thus there is quite a large mass of *Rāmāyaṇa* Appocrypha current in Bengal, which has been noted by the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. So also stories relating to the goddess Manasā (including that fine Middle-Bengali story of the wifely devotion of Bihulā to her husband, young Lakṣmīndhara); the stories relating to the goddess Chaṇḍī and her devotees (the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā, and the merchant Dhanapati and his two wives, Lahanā and Kullanā, and his son Śrimanta), etc. are really of the same nature as Purāṇa stories. But they have not obtained a place in any canonical Purāṇa. We have in Bengal and in other parts of India a whole host of other stories relating to Rāma and Kṛiṣṇa which show a development of the story element of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, right down to modern times. It can be elaborately shown how the Rādhā Kṛiṣṇa story went on developing from early centuries of the Christian era right down to the eighteenth century, and this development in its entirety has just escaped being recorded as proper Purāṇa only because they were not given all-India publicity through Sanskrit and added to the Purāṇa canon, as these developments were late, and popular, and consequently neglected by the Brahman scholars. They remained a vernacular Apocrypha of the greatest amount of interest. There are a number of folk-tales which could not be agged on to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the Puraṇas, only because they escaped being rendered into Sanskrit and being taken in hand by the Brahmanical Puraṇa reciters. The story of how Hanuman was responsible for the mango fruit coming to India; how the squirrel got the stripes on its back through the grace of Rāma; how according to a widely current Bengal legend, Kumāra or Kārttikeya, the son of Siva, remained a confirmed bachelor, how in contrast to this version, Kumāra or Muruganị

in the Tamil land obtained a second wife in Vaḷḷi, the daughter of a mountain chieftain of the Korava people, over and above his first wife Devasenā, the daughter of Indra; how Śiva lived among the Koch women in North Bengal and became the ancestor of a line of Koch kings; all these, and quite a number of other stories of this type, not yet adopted into Sanskrit, formed a veritable *Purāṇa Apocrypha*. The relations between Kṛiṣṇa and Rādhā are of the nature of a late accretion to the Kṛiṣṇa legend which found in part a place even in the canonical Purāṇas. But considerable amount of other stories and legends have remained outside the canon, and are in all propriety to be labelled as *Purāṇa Apocrypha*.

When in ancient and mediaeval and even in modern times, a non-Aryan speaking group was broutght within the orbit of Brahmanical Hinduism, its gods and godlings were identified with the great gods of Hinduism, so that the transition of the people from an Ādivāsi or aboriginal group into a Brahmanical Hindu caste was facilitated, and absorption within the wider Hindu body-politic became easy and a matter of course. But sometimes this was not attended to, and the stories have remained outside the orthodox or pan-Indian Hindu orbit. Not infrequently we have got a dual world–that of the pre-Aryan myths and legends which have mostly been tagged on to the newly introduced and usually eagerly accepted Brahmanical Hindu myths and legends. And, even now, this old spirit of compromise and co-ordination appears to be quite active. In mediaeval times, it was in the nature of things that these stories would be the common property of groups of people who had not wholly forgotten their pre-Aryan heritage, although they did not have any knowledge of it. The Brahmanical spirit of accommodation and re-interpretation is nevertheless everywhere helping to bring about this kind of integration which we find in the Purāṇas.

A case in point is the story of *Makkeśvara Śiva*, or Śiva dwelling in Mecca, which is virtually an Apocryphic legend in the Purāṇa style with its different versions which was widely current in Bengal, and which even after the Partition is frequently narrated orally. It was the joint creation of the Bengali Muslim and Hindu villagers, and the experience of Bengali Muslim village people who went to perform the Hajj formed the basis of this legend. There is a famous group of temples by some hot springs, centering round the temple of Śiva, known as *Vakreśvara* near the town of Suri in Birbhum District in West Bengal; and my friend Dr. Sukumar Sen thinks that the adoption of the name and legend of *Makkeśvara* was facilitated by the name *Vakreśvara*, which in a folk pronunciation

becomes *Bakkeśwar* in Bengali. The learned men both among the Muslims and the Hindus look upon such stories with amused contempt. But nevertheless there are here and there people who implicitly believe in them. The story in one of its common versions (which I heard sixty years ago from my father, who was sure that many uneducated Bengal Muslims from villages also believed in it) runs like this. Muhammad was a great religious leader, and, naturally, in Hindu eyes–and in the eyes of a great many imperfectly Islamized Hindus also–he was a great Yogi. As a Yogi he naturally performed penance to please the supreme god Śiva. Śiva was pleased with the piety of Muhammad, so the legend says, and gave him a boon that he was to be a conqueror of the whole world. This is how Mohammad and his followers, according to the popular Hindu notion, became masters of India. But many of the followers of Muhammad did not understand the whole thing, and they began to abuse their power and ill-treat the Hindus. The Hindus in their distress appealed to Śiva, and Śiva asked Muhammad to restrain his followers. Muhammad on the other hand pleased Śiva by further penances, and Śiva offered to give him another boon. Muhammad wanted Śiva to come and stay forever in his own native town of Mecca,.to which Śiva consented without any hesitation. It was to be a holy place like Banaras, and Śiva was duly installed there. Then the Hindus were in despair because Śiva had left them, and they again approached Śiva. Śiva said that although he had given his word to Muhammad to give special sanctity to Mecca by his actual presence there, he would never forsake the Hindus if they could offer him proper worship in Mecca at least once in twelve years. It is for this reason, so the legend says, that there is a great gathering of Hindu monks and mendicants at the Kumbha-Melā at Prayāg (or Allahabad) every twelve years, when from among these *sādhus* or Hindu monks a representative is selected, who goes at considerable personal peril to Mecca to perform his worship, unknown to the Arabs. This legend arose from the ritual which is followed by the Muslim Hajis when they come out from the city of Mecca to the Arapat Valley, where they take their stand on one of the hillocks and throw stones towards two stone pillars on a hill opposite. Uneducated Muslim pilgrims from rural Bengal in their ignorance would consider these two stone pillars to be two *Śiva-liṅgas* or phallic symbols of Śiva with which they were familiar as emblems or images in Hindu temples and out of deference to the feelings of their Hindu co-villagers they would say that they were enjoined to offer stones to these *Śiva-liṅga* pillars instead of following the Hindu ritual of offering water and flowers.

and leaves, which is forbidden in Islam. Within this grotesque, though synthesising, atmosphere the story started, and we have a full-fledged legend of Makkeśvara Śiva. It may have found a place in the Purāṇa if the time and condition were suitable for it. Equally grotesque stories originated among Bengali Muslim villagers, like, for example, that of 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet fighting Hanūmān and converting him to Islam, or that of the Pīr Ghāzi Miyān becoming, like the Hindu Dakṣiṇa-Rāya, the god who controlled tigers in the Sundarbans in South Bengal; and some of these stories, composed in Bengali verse, were printed and were quite popular as folk literature.

Dr. Verrier Elwin has collected a number of folk-tales and legends from among the Ādivāsi peoples of central and eastern India, and these form a veritable *Ādivāsi Purāṇa* for these areas. Similarly, in recent years there has been made a learned attempt by a very erudite Sanskrit scholar of Maṇipur to harmonise the legends and traditions of the Meithei people with the Brahmanical Purāṇa, including also the two Epics. Paṇḍitarāja Ātombāpu Śarmā Vidyāratna has devoted his whole life to the teaching and propagation of the Sanskrit language, literature and lore, as the most respected religious and intellectual leader of the Maṇipur people. His edition of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Gītā* and the *Gīta-Govinda*, and the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa,* his works on astrology and many other subjects of Sanskrit lore, are very well-known. Through his own press he brings out a religous journal in the Maṇipurī language for Maṇipur Hindus. His work is published in both Sanskrit and in the Meithei or Maṇipurī language. He himself is a man of great faith in Vaiṣṇavism, and his attempt at harmonising the world of the Meithei *Maibas* or priests with the Brahmanical or Purāṇic world may be ingenious, but it is perfectly serious and sincere, and legitimate as being in the line of a tradition. The Meitheis had their old world of the gods with their Meithei names and their special stories and legends. After the Meitheis came within the fold of Brahmanism, which must have taken place at least a thousand years ago, in spite of certain periods of intensive Hindu campaign among them at subsequent epochs, these gods continued to be worshipped through the *Maibas* and *Maibis* or priests and priestesses of the old Meithei religion. But it went on side by side with the new Hindu ritual centering round the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva and Durgā, particularly of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of Kṛiṣṇa. There was no clear margin between the two religions, but in Meithei society we have a definite attempt at translating things Meithei into terms of Sanskrit, e.g. the *Shaleis* or clans

of the Meitheis were connected with the *Gotras* of the Brahmans. The result of this kind of harmonisation or integration, which has been going on in India ever since Aryans and pre-Aryans met on the soil of Inida and set about forming a single culture and commingling to form a single people, is still at work at Maṇipur, and it can be seen from the synthesis which has been arrived at, and which is fully believed in the larger number of Meithei people at the present day. This form a veritable *Maṇipura Puraṇa*, and the nature of it will be apparent from a little *resume* which I am giving below of what is virtually a new and incipient mass of *Purāṇa Apocrypha*.

To start with, the Maṇipuri people themselves identified some of their own gods and goddesses with the divinities of the Hindu pantheon, and in this way *Mai* has been identified with Brahmā, *Ishing* with Viṣṇu and *Nungshit* with Śiva; so *Shorarel* with Indra, *Marjing* with Kubera, *Koriphaba* with Varuṇa, *Wangbrel* with Yama, *Irum* with Agni and *Taoroinai* with Ananta, the divine ruler of the Nāgas. The story goes that Śiva and Pārvatī came down from heaven and descended on earth in Maṇipur valley. They liked some of the hills in that area, and they first stood on the hill of *Nongmaijing* or Nīlakaṇṭha Giri "the hill of the blue throat of Śiva." These hills are considered to be sacred places in Maṇipur, and thousands of pilgrims every year visit them. Śiva acquired a new name in Maṇipur, *Poireiton*, i.e., "He who came to a new spot.' In Maṇipur (which Śrī Ātombāpu Sarmā identifies with the ancient abode of the Aryans–*Pratnaukas*, mentioned in Vedic literature), Śiva caused seven gods to descend from heaven which had seven mountain peaks in it. These seven gods were identified with the seven planets as they are known in Hindu mythology–(1) *Nongmaijing* or the sun; (2) *Ningthoukaba* or the moon; (3) *Leipakpoku* or Mars; (4) *Yusaikesa* or Mercury; (5) *Sagolmel* or Jupiter; (6) *Irai* or Venus; and (7) *Thanja* or Saturn. These planetary deities in the Maṇipur scene were, some of them, endowed with animal heads–Mars had the head of a buffalo, Mercury that of an elephant, Jupiter of a stag and Venus of a tiger.

After that, Śiva and Pārvatī went to the North-Western direction of Maṇipur and took up their abode in the hill known as *Koubru* or Kumāra-parvata. Maṇipur is now a predominantly Vaiṣṇava country, and naturally Viṣṇu, specially in his incarnation Kṛiṣṇa, has a pre-eminence. According to this Maṇipur legend when Kṛiṣṇa was performing the *Rāsa* dance with the Gopīs or cow-herd maidens at Vṛindāvana, Śiva

and Parvatī were acting as guards at the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* or pavilion where the *Rāsa* dance was being held. From the outside, Pārvatī listened to the music and the revelry of this dance, and then she desired very much to see it. But Kṛiṣṇa did not agree. Kṛiṣṇa asked Śiva and Parvatī to find out some other place where they themselves could hold the Rāsa dance. One of the reasons why Śiva and Pārvatī arrived in Maṇipur and took up their abode in Koubru hill was that they regarded this spot to be the most suitable to hold the great *Rāsa* dance. But the country was full of water because of numerous rivers in it, and Śiva sked Kṛiṣṇa to make the country dry. Kṛiṣṇa came down at Śiva's request, and then a certain area became dry, and this came to be known as Viṣṇupura. Ten gods, namely Indra or *Haoba Shorarel,* Kubera or *Marjing,* Yama or *Wangbrel,* Varuṇa or *Thorikaba,* Agni or *Irum Ninghou,* Nirṛti or the Aśvīnī Kumāras or *Thanging,* Iśāna or *Chingkhei-Ninghou,* Vāyu or *Loiya Lakpa,* and two others who have only the Meithei names *Nongsaba* and *Komba-Meiromba,* came down to Maṇipur, and through the efforts of these gods Maṇipur became a dry country, and the first eight of these ten gods became the eight *Dikpālas,* as in Brahmanical mythology, only the last two shared with Indra the guardianship of the East. In Maṇipur, Śiva and Pārvatī found people of the Kirāta tribe in occupation.

When the country was properly cleared, the *Rāsa* or *Mahārāsa* dance by Śiva and Parvatī was arranged, and the gods assembled with various musical instruments to participate in this dance undertaken by the Father and the Mother of the Universe. The serpent king Ananta came, and with the *Maṇi* or magic jewel which was on his head he filled up the whole of Maṇipur with light for seven days and nights, until the conclusion of the *Rāsa* dance by Śiva and Pārvatī. The gods were very happy, and they blessed the land of Maṇipur that it would always remain green and fertile and the people will always have devotion to Viṣṇu. The legend says that at first the country was called Śiva-nagara, but after this great *Rāsa* dance, when the country was illumined by the *Maṇi* or Jewel of the Nāga king, the country came to be known as *Maṇi-pura*.

The gods had requested Śiva to continue to be the ruler of the country. But Śiva was unwilling, and made the Nāga king, Ananta, the ruler. When Viṣṇu had assumed his boar incarnation, through the breath from the nostrils of this divine boar, a tunnel had been made at a spot in the soil of Maṇipur. And beside this tunnel, on the top of a hill, the capital city, with the throne of Ananta, was established. The images of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa were established on two sides of the main gate of Ananta's palace. Then after setting up his kingdom, Ananta Nāga established the

games and sports which are still very popular among the Maṇipur people. Boat-races were started in which the gods and the *apsarases* also took part, and there was a kind of tug-of-war with a long pole rather than a rope. The god Kubera (*Marjing*) invented the game of polo, and this pleased all the gods very much; and this is the reason, as the legend says, that whenever there is an epidemic in the country, the Maṇi-puris offer polo-sticks and balls to the gods.

After ruling over Maṇipur for some time, Ananta went back to his Nāga world down in the Pātāla or the underworld. Because Ananta was the first king of Maṇipur, the Maṇipur rulers took up as their emblem the figure of a serpent with its body in a complicated coil, and with a crown on its head. Ananta Nāga was succeeded, according to this synthesised legend, by a Gandharva named Citrabhānu.

There is, according to many Maṇipurī Hindus, the story of the creation of man, and this story is a genuine Meithei one. According to a native Maṇipurī book in Old Meithei on the legends of the gods which is still extant, the *Loithak-Loikharol*, Śiva first told this story to Gaṇeśa. This story of the creation of man runs like this :

The Supreme Deity, Atiya-Guru-Shidoba, who lives in heaven (*Atiya* means "Sky or Heaven," *Guru* is the Sanskrit word, and *Shidoba* means "immortal") decided to create man. He produced a god named *Kodin* from his own body, and Kodin was ordered to create such a being who would be subject to death just because of the fact that he was born. Kodin then created seven frogs and seven monkeys, and placed them before Guru Shidoba. But Shidoba did not like them because they did not have any intelligence and perception and no idea of right and wrong. He said to Kodin "Here I stand; create some animal after my appearance or my shadow." Accordingly Kodin created another creature, but he had no power to give it life. Guru Shidoba then put the breath of life into this creature, and in this way man was created. He made the frogs go into the water and the monkeys to the hills.

After this Guru Shidoba created *Numit* or the sun and *Toha* or the moon in the form of men, and the sun received a new name *Kojen-tu Thokpa* and the moon, *Ashiba*. Then Guru Shidoba vanished from the earth.

Atiya Guru Shidoba had manifested himself on earth through the tunnel in the ground which was made by the breath of Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation. He was accompanied by seven goddesses or *apsarases*, each of whom has her own name in Maṇipurī. They were married to the seven planet gods, and each of these couples had one son. These seven sons of

gods were the ancestors of the seven Maṇipurī *Shaleis* or clans, and these seven clans have been identified with the seven *Gotras* of the Brahmans. Thus we have the *Shaleis* or *Gotras* as follows : (1) *Angom*=Bhāradvāja or Kauśika; (2) *Ningthouja*=Śāṇḍilya; (3) *Luwang*=Kāśyapa; (4) *Khumol*=Maudgalya, which has also been modified to Madhukulya; (5) *Khabangangba*=Naimiṣya or Bhāradvāja; (6) *Moirang*=Ātreya; and (7) *Chengloi*=Bhāradvāja.

This story is just a Maṇipurī version of the Puraṇa story of the seven Ṛiṣis who were the sons of Brahma and the ancestors of the various *Gotras* or clans of Brahmans. According to another legend current in Maṇipur, the ancestors of these seven *Shaleis* or *Gotras* were not the sons born of the seven gods and *apsarases* as mentioned before, but rather they were born from the body of Guru Shidoba himself. This is like the creation from Brahmā's person–from the *Puruṣa*, as in the Rig-Veda–of the four castes, e.g., the Brahmans from Puruṣa's mouth, the Kṣatriyas from his two arms, the Vaiśyas from his thighs and the Śūdras from his feet. Similarly from the right and left eye, from the right ear and the left ear, from the two nostrils and from the teeth came out the founders of these seven *Shaleis*.

In another legend which is found in the *Loithak-Loikharol*, we have a number of other stories which have not been brought in line with the extant Sanskrit Purāṇas. It is said that the two gods *Pakhamba* (alias *Sembreng)* and *Shenamahi* (alias *Kupbreng)*, sons of Guru Shidoba, obtained permission from their father to descend on earth, and they came Maṇipur. To test his sons, whether they could recognise him in a disguise, Guru Shidoba took up the form of a dead cow and began to float down the Vijaya river. The brothers recognised that it was their father who had taken this disguise, and they dragged the dead cow on dry grounds. Shidoba was pleased that they could recognise him, and gave to Senbreng the name of *Pakhamba,* i.e.., "he who knows the father." The two brothers then cut the dead cow into pieces and gave portions of the body to the seven ancestors of the *Shaleis* : The place where the skin of the cow was dried came to be known as *Kangla.* which means "to dry". The seven ancestors then performed a *Homa* sacrifice in a fire with the portions of the cow's body they had received. Here is thus a linking up of the Meithei legend with the Vedic ritual.

To test the intelligence of his two sons, "Guru Shidoba declared that he would give the rulership of the land to whichever of the two brothers would be able to make a circuit of the world and come back first. Kupbreng (or Shenamahi) then started from Kangla to go round the

world. But through the advice of another god, the other brother Pakhamba simply went round father's throne seven times. At this Guru Shidoba was pleased, because circumbulating round his father was equivalent to going round the world. The other brother returned after his journey round the wrold and found that Pakhamba was already established as king. There is a similar story current in Bengal about Gaṇeśa outwitting his brother Kārttikeya in the same manner by just going round his mother Pārvatī once, while Kārttikeya made a dash to fly around the world on his peacock. Out of anger, Shenamahi wanted to fight his borther Pakhamba. But Guru Shidoba came riding on Ananta, the Nāga king, and a compromise between the brothers was effected by which they were to rule in alternate years. It was also decided that during the year that he would be ruling, the borther waiting for his turn would get divine worship from the people of Maṇipur. The god *Leimaren+Shidabi* who had been the patron of the unsuccessful brother now came and declared that Guru Shidoba was the Supreme Spirit.

It was after these two brothers that the Gandharva Citrabhānu came to the scene. A pedigree has been found out for this Citrabhānu in the manner of typical Sanskrit Purāṇás, Thus we are told that Brahmā was born in the lotus which came out from the navel of Viṣṇu, and from the body of Brahmā came out the sage Marīci, and Marīci's son was the sage Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa's son was Sūrya, the sun-god, and the sage Sāvarṇa was the son of Sūrya, and Sāvarṇa's son was Citraketu. Then we have after Citraketu his son Citradhvaja and his grand-son Citrabīja, and Citrabīja's son Citrasarva, then came Citrarāja and finally Citrabhānu. Citrāṅgadā was the daughter of Citrabhānu, and then a connexion was effected between the *Mahābhārata* and Maṇipur through the story of Arjuna coming to Maṇipur and marrying Citrāṅgadā. This legend of Arjuna and Citrāṅgadā, which is very well known in India, became, one might say, the pivot for linking up Maṇipur with the Brahmanical Purāṇa tradition.

After this we have the semi-history and early history of Maṇipur, in the shape of a succession list of the kings of Maṇipur. In this list of Maṇipur kings, we have names which are both Sanskrit and Meithei. But that need not detain us. The tragic story of the hero Khamba and the princess Thoibi, whom Khamba married after a series of heroic feats, but who was himself killed by Thoibi through an inadvertent mistake, is supposed to have taken place during the rule of the Maṇipur King

Loyamba, whose name has been Sanskritised as Lavaṅga Siṁha. Loyamba is said to have ruled from 1127 to 1154. The story of Khamba and Thoibi, of course, has no religious value, and therefore it could not be said to be of the nature of a Purāṇa. But it is one of the finest stories in literature produced by the Kirāta or Sino-Tibetan people in India. The popularity of the story can be gauged from the fact that, in addition to ballads which are sung by minstrels, in recent times a great poet of Maṇipur, the late Hijum Anganghal Singh, has composed a poem of 39,000 lines on the romantic tale of Khamba and Thoibi.

In this way we have the legends and stories of the Meitheis which have been attempted to be re-told like a Purāṇa; and if these legends had been rendered into Sanskrit, say 500 or 1000 or 1500 years ago, they could easily have found place in some Sanskrit Purāṇa. Thus it is to be always remembered that in their nature the Purāṇas are largely of folk origin, and a mass of heterogeneous pre-Aryan or non-Aryan material has found a place within the hospitable bosom of Hinduism which has never refused to accommodate the experiences and self-expression of any group of people which was itself tolerant and accommodating.

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WORSHIP OF THE SUN*

BY

V. RAGHAVAN

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन सूर्यपूजायाः प्राचीनत्वं सार्वभौमत्वं तस्या विविधदेशेषु स्वरूप-प्रकारं तथा सूर्यमन्दिराणां स्वरूपं स्थानं च सम्यक् प्रमाणपुरस्सरं प्रदर्शितम् । निबन्धं दशभागेषु विभज्य विभिन्नशीर्षकेषु विविधविषयाणां विवेचनं कृतम्, यथा– (i) सूर्योपासना ख्रिष्टीयवर्षस्य प्राक् १४०० वर्षेऽपि प्रचलिता आसीत् पाश्चात्त्य-मध्यपूर्वदेशेषु । 'हिट्टाइट' इति प्रथितजनानां सूर्यो 'मित्र' इति नाम्ना उपास्यदेव आसीत् तेषु वर्षेषु–इति सिद्धमेव 'हिट्टाइट-मितानि' जनानां सन्धिपत्रस्योपलब्ध्या । तेषु जनेषु सूर्यः कर्मसाक्षी जगच्चक्षुश्च प्रसिद्ध आसीत् । तदनन्तरं 'अवेस्ता' इत्यस्य 'मिथ्र' इति नाम्ना प्रथितः सूर्यदेवः यूरोपीयदेशेषु विस्तृतिमवाप । अत्र विविधदेशेषु विविधप्रमाणैः सूर्योपासनायाः प्रचारः, पूजाप्रकारः, मूर्तिप्रकाराश्च प्रदर्शिताः– वैदिकसूर्योपासनया सह साम्यमपि निदर्शितम् । –(ii) तदनन्तरं वेदेष्वारण्यकेषूपनिषत्सु च सूर्योपासनाप्रकारः, सूर्यसंबन्धिवर्णनम् च प्रदर्शितम् । –(iii) रामायणे महाभारते चोपलब्धस्य सूर्यसम्बन्धि-वर्णनस्य निर्देशो विहितोऽत्र । –(iv) भारतीयशासकैरपि सूर्योपासनायाः प्राथम्यं स्थापितम् । हर्षवर्धनः सूर्योपासकशासकेषु प्रमुख आसीत् । गुप्तवंशीयैः शासकैरपि 'आदित्य' इत्युपाधिः स्वेभ्यः स्वीकृतः । –(v) पुराणेष्वपि सूर्यपूजा सूर्योपासना च वर्णिताऽस्ति । केषुचिच्च पुराणेषु सूर्यवर्णनस्य प्राधान्यं वर्तते–एते विषयाः सप्रमाणं प्रदर्शिताः । –(vi) सूर्यपूजासंबन्धिग्रन्थानां हस्तलेखानां च परिचयो दत्तः । –(vii) सूर्य-सूक्तानां स्तुतिग्रन्थानां च निर्देशः प्रस्तुतः । –(viii) सूर्यमन्दिराणां परिचयः प्रस्तुतः । –(ix) आदिम-जन-जातिषु अपि सूर्यपूजायाः प्रचारः प्राप्यते । –(x) अन्ते च सूर्योपासनायाः वैष्णव-शैव-शाक्तेषु उपासनापद्धतिं विनिर्दिश्य सूर्योपासनाया महत्त्वमुप-योगित्वञ्च प्रदर्शितम् । एषु शीर्षकेषु तत्तद्विषयाणां प्रमाणपुरस्सरं प्रामाणिकं च विवेचनं कृतं निबन्धेऽत्र]

"सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च"

The Sun is the Soul of all that moves and is stationary"

(*Ṛg. Veda*, I. 115.1.)

When we speak of the worship of the Sun, we are really dealing with an international religion, a religion which in the 3rd Century A.D. was poised against Christianity in a bid to take over as the world religion. But

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*. Purāṇa, Vol. XII, No. 2 (July 1970) pp. 205-230.

the worship of the Sun, *Mitra* as He is known in His sway in the Middle East and the West, was as old as 1400 B.C. when in Anatolia, at the place called Bagozkoi, in a treaty between two ruling dynasties, the Hittites and the Mittanis, in a language almost Sanskrit, *Mitra*, along with the Vedic gods, Indra, Varuṇa and Nāsatyau or Aśvins, was invoked. The worship of the Sun was part of the State religion of the Hittites and the Sun was regarded as the King of Gods, the God of right and justice and the impartial surveryor from above of the deeds of men (*Karmasākṣin* and *Jagaccakṣus* as we would say). As the God of peace-contract, he always figured in the treaties that Kings concluded. Here is the prayer to Him by the Hittite King Muwatallis : "Sun-God of heaven ! My Lord ! shepherd of mankind ! .... daily thou sittest in judgment upon man, dog, etc." And in another prayer : "The inspired lord of justice art thou, and in the place of justice, thou art untiring." Another interesting fact is that like the language of the tablets, and the names of the Vedic deities, the conception of the eastern origin of the Sun, points to the Indian origin of the Sun-worship of Asia Minor of the middle of the second millennium B.C.

The latter spread of Mithraism in Europe was from the Mithra of the Avesta, where Mithra was next only to Ahura Mazda. Avestan Mithra was the lord of the wide pastures, truthful, vigilant with a thousand eyes and ears; 'Mithram' means 'compact', contract, plighted word and 'Mithradruj' was a promise-breaker; His companions were Saraosa, Śrosa or Susrusa = obedience and Rashnu =justice. The following prayer is from the Avestan hymn to Mithra, the Mihir Yasht (X) :

"I will worship Mithra, who is good, strong, supernatural foremost, merciful, incomparable, high-dwelling a mighty strong warrior. Valiant, he is equipped with a well-fashioned weapon, he who watches in darkness, the undeceivable. He is what (is) strongest among the very strong; he has by far the greatest insight among the gods. Fortune attends him, the valiant, who with his thousand ears and ten thousand eyes is the strong, all-knowing, undeceivable master of ten thousand spies." (X. 170-1)[1].

Mithra did not disappear from the later or even modern Zorastrianism. The Mihragān, a five-day festival of Mithra is still observed and Mithra-temples still exist in Iran. Mithra is still called 'Judge of Iran', 'Mihr-i-Iran-dāvar'[2].

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1. See also p. 18. Prof. A.J. Carnoy, *The Religion of Ancient Persia*, London.
2. See A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past & Present*, New York, 1909. For the latest examination of this subject, see Mary Boyce, 'On Mithra's Part in Zoroastrianism', Bulletin of the School of Ori. and African Studies, University of London, XXXII, i. 1969, pp. 10-34.

With the growth of the Persian Empire, the Maga or Magi priests also became powerful all over Asia Minor and they, in a great measure, became responsible for the development and spread of the Mithra cult all over this area, paving the way for its further spread into the Hellenic world and the Roman Empire through warriors drawn from Asia, and merchants and other seafarers from the East. But before we come to this phase, let us see the Sun-God and His worship in other countries and ancient civilizations.

In Egypt, the Sun-God was called *Re* or *Ra-Atun* and from the fifth dynasty onwards, all Kings considered themselves, like their Sūrya-vaṁś counterparts of India, sons of *Re* and added *Re* to their own names. An Egyptian hymn of circa 1412 B.C. describes *Re* the Sun-God as Lord of truth, Lord of sweetness, great in love and waking when all men sleep. In the 14th Century B.C. Akhenaton established a religion round the Sun-God Aton. The Pyramids, which were astronomically oriented, were Sun-monuments. At On, called Helipolis by the Greeks, the Sun-God was believed to have revealed Himself in the form of a pyramid-shape stone within the temple. The Sun, as the traverser of the sky, was described as a winged bird, a falcon, a description which can be compared with the Vedic description of the Sun as Tārkṣya, Suparṇa, Garuntman and Haṁsa; also the Egyptians had a curious conception of the crawling Sun as a Beetle, which has its echo in one of our names for the Sun, the *Patanga,* figuring in some Vedic hymns E.g. Rv. X. 177. 1, 2; 189.3. The Pyramid was not only the magnification of the Solar-symbol stone mentioned above, but it is also by soaring with its height into the skies; the symbol of the entombed King ascending to and joining the Sun-God.

The Calendar stone and the Sun-disc among the monuments of the Aztechs of Mexico show a conception of Universe with the Sun as the centre of all life. The Aztechs conceived of Time as of four ages, (*cf.* the four *yugas*), and called each age a Sun, as He was the presiding deity. The Incas of Peru called themselves sons of the Sun. Sacrifices and a number of rites including a Sun-dance were offered by American Indians to their Sun-God.

The Sun, Shamash, was the tutelary deity of the local dynasty of the town of Sippara in Mesopotamia and a representation of this Sun-God in human form with rays issuing from his shoulders is seen in a Sumerian Seal of 2800 B.C. He was the upholder of truth and justice and the promulgator of the laws. He is represented in Assyria as a flying disc. (*cf.* our *Cakra*).

The Japanese belief in their kings being direct descendants from the Sun-god is well-known. The close association of the Sun and Royalty was a prominent feature in most ancient civilizations. The Parthian monarchs consi-dered themselves as brothers of the Sun.

The Chinese believed in ten Suns and had several Sun-myths

Mithraism mixed with local beliefs and took over additional related ideas. Thus in Chaldea, Mithraism was influenced by astrology and the planets and the Zodiac and their influences on human affairs. It mingled in parts of Asia Minor with the Mother Goddess, Anahita, and in Greece with Hermes. Greece had its own-Sun-God in Helios. Royalty took up Mithra as their talisman and symbol of glory. The concept of the 'Invincible Sun' *'Sol Invictus'*, as the protector of the Empire and the Emperors, was particularly developed in Syria and Chaldean-Syrian Solar pantheism later exerted strong influence on the whole of the Roman world. Nero, perhaps the first Roman Emperor to be initiated into the Mithraic mysteries, had an enormous statue of himself set up for being worshipped as the Sun-God. And as in the Hittite-Mittani treaty of thousand six hundred years before, in the treaties of the Roman Empire also, Mithra was invoked and altars dedicated to him by contending Kings. Of Mithra monuments in Europe, which have survived destructions by Muslims, there are about 500 sculptures and 400 inscriptions, extending from the Scottish borders to the borders of Hungary, as also in parts of Africa. They are particularly numerous along the German and Danubian borders. There are still some Mithra temples and frescoes that have escaped Christian iconoclasm of the 4th century A.D., in Rome. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., in Rome alone there were more than a hundred temples to Mithra in different parts of the city, both inside and outside the city walls. From the remains of the structures and the frescoes and from the inscriptions that survive, as also from the writing of some Christian Fathers, we can reconstruct the details of this Mithraism which had, according to a writer[3], spread like wild fire throughout the Empire in the first four centuries A.D.

Mithra was worshipped in a natural mountain cave by the side of some running water and accordingly Mithra shrines were raised on such a natural background. The rising of the Sun and the bursting forth of light

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3. G. S. R. Mead. *Mysteries of Mithra.* TPH.

from amidst the rocks was symbolised in the cave, the image of the celestial vault. References to the rock. Parvata, and the waters, Samudra or Salila, are common in the Vedic descriptions of Mitra and Savitā. E.g. Rv. X. 159. 3:

चक्षुर्नो देवः सविता, चक्षुर्न उत पर्वतः ।

His mysteries were celebrated within the dark of caves, where there was the sculpture of Mithra slaying the Bull, altars and other reliefs and drawings of the surrounding walls, including the scene of the sacred Meal.

The iconography of Mithra shows his chief exploit as the slaying of the Bull, evidently the symbol of seasons and weather. Other details of His iconography comprise the presence of a *crow* as a heavenly messenger. In Chinese Sun-myths, a raven was believed to reside in the Sun. As in the case of the cave, *Guhā,* the symbol of the heart, we have in the Veda also the symbolism of *Vāyasa* crow, and other birds, for the fleeting Sun. There is also a scorpion and a lion; also a representation of Mithra as an archer. All these, together with the idea that Zervan, the God of Time, re-appeared as Mithra and that Mithra held the globe as Kosmokrater (ruler of cosmos) and supported the Zodiac, show an amalgamation of the old ethical Mithra with the warrior Mithra of the Kings and the Sun as the astronomical and astrological hub, the Bull, the Lion, the Scorpion, and the Archer point to the signs of the Zodiac, Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Dhanus and the seasons they stand for. Mithra is also described as being carried in a chariot, driven by a solar deity, other than Mithra, namely Helios-Sol, the light-giving charioteer, who may be the counterpart of our *Aruṇa*. A dog that is depicted as a 'faithful companion of Mithra' may be compared to our *Saramā*, Deva-śunī. When mingling with the Orphic doctrines, Mithra was identified with the god of the Rays, Phanes, born of an Egg. In a Hadrian Wall stone relief, Mithra's birth from an Egg is shown, in the midst of the signs of the Zodiac, which reminds us of our Sun-name pointing to His Egg-birth, *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Mārtāṇḍa*. The number 'seven' played a part in Mithraic mysteries, in which seven states of spiritual progress were formulated. Here also we may compare our conception of seven Suns and the seven horses for the Sun; as also the seven *Bhūmis* of Yoga. Thus Mithra had developed into a 'universal and all-embracing divinity'.

Answering the question 'Why the Oriental Religions spread?' Franz Cumont says:[4] These religions represented a more advanced type in the evotution of religious forms. They gave greater satisfaction to the senses, to the intelligence and lastly to the conscience. They taught man how to reach a blissful state in which the soul was freed from bodily tyranny and suffering, through contemplation and the artistic aids of music and dance; compared to the infantile nature of the prevailing religion, they were sacerdotal, prescribed rituals, penances, and purifications, asceticism; compared to the prevalent vague and un-enthusing notions they offered a definite view of after-life, survival of the soul and the attainment of happiness. They thus offered "greater beauty of ritual, greater truth of doctrine and a far superior morality". And "Of all the Oriental cults none was so severe as Mithraism, none attained an equal moral elevation, none could have had so strong a hold on mind and heart." According to Frazer *The Golden Bough,* I Vol. edn. p. 358) "There can be no doubt that the Mithraic religion proved a formidable rival to Christianity, combining as it did a solemn ritual with aspirations after moral purity and a hope of immortality." So much so that Renan observed that "If Christianity had been stopped in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic.[5]" Julian was the last Emperor who was a declared Mithraist; he gave a 'Hymn to the Sun' and glorified Mithra as the One God of whose power, all other gods were but different aspects. But the victory of Constantine and his vision of Christ proved the turning point and with the banning of Mithra worship and the massacre of Mithra priests and followers and the destruction of Mithra monuments by Christian fanatics, who had now gained an upper hand, Mithraism began to fade out by about 400 A.D. But Mithraism did not recede without leaving its lasting marks on Christianity, which, to make itself popular with the people, adopted Mithraic architecture, rites and festivals. The 25th December was the popular festival of Mithra's birth, and it was taken over; the Meal of the Mithra cult[6] the idea of 'eating of My body and drinking of My blood' were also taken over as the Eucharist. The bull that was destroyed by Mithra was identical with Mithra who thus sacrificed

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4. In his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* Dover Publications, New York.
5. In his book on Marcus Aurelius.
6. Michael Angelo's 'The Last Supper' is said to be copy of a fresco in a Mithra temple. See Poure-Davond, J. the Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc, Vol. 19 (1933) Mitra Cult, pp. 255-280.

Himself. Baptism, Communion, Resurrection, all these cardinal ideas, Christianity had to absorb, before it could supplant Mithraism[7].

II

We shall now swing back to another 1500 years before Bagazkoi where we first met Mitra and see him in his own Vedic world in India. Mitra appears in the Ṛgveda in a number of names and forms and if there had not been in the Vedas, such extensive references to the Sun and Solar and other celestial luminaries including the constellations, our knowledge of the age and antiquity of the Vedas would have been poor indeed. The Solar deities dominate verily the Vedic horizon. Yāska gives the threefold classification of the Vedic deities into the terrestrial, the atmospheric and the celestial. In this way, we have three primary deities Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya.

तिस्र एव देवता इति नैरुक्ताः । अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः, वायुर्वा इन्द्रो वा अन्तरिक्षस्थानः, सूर्यो द्युस्थानः । Nirukta VII.

Under Sūrya is comprehended a world of deities; hence his prominence in the Vedic worship, including what we are enjoined to do every day at dawn, midday and evening. The Vedic sacrifice which was co-ordinated to the year and the seasons and the movements of the Sun proclaims again the dominance of the Sun as the Lord of the year, Saṁvatsara. Says Śaṅkara in his Chāndogyabhāṣya :

सर्वयज्ञानां च कार्यनिर्वृत्तिरूपः सविता महत्या श्रिया दीप्यते ।

There are about 133 separate hymns in the Ṛgveda alone to the different Solar deities, apart from hymns in which some of them figure jointly; there are about 2000 and odd references to them, the references to Sūrya and Āditya being too numerous to count. The Solar deities thus praised are Mitra, Sūrya, Savitā, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Vivasvān, Ādityas, Aryaman, Bhaga, Aṁśa, Dakṣa, Uṣas and Aśvins. The two twilights and the Dawn or Dawns, including their long Arctic forms, claim the largest number of individual hymns.

Mitra of whose form and sway outside India we have been speaking, has one full hymn for himself in the Ṛgveda but with Varuṇa, his close associate in the Avesta, he occurs far oftener in the Ṛgveda. Mitrā-Varuṇa are the most powerful of Vedic conceptions and to them jointly we owe

7 *See* H. Stuart Jones on Mithraism in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, VIII, pp. 752-9; M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, The Secret God*. Chatto & Windus, London 1963.

two of our greatest Vedic Ṛṣis, the two Maitrāvaruṇis, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya. Mitrā-Varuṇa form two aspects of the same deity, he who uncovers or spreads in the morning and he who covers and envelops in the evening. In the Atharvaveda, too, the two are praised together as the vigilant supervisors and moral mentors of mankind. "The wonderful divine array, the Eye of Mitra[8] and Varuṇa, the Sun is indeed the soul of all that moves and stands still."

चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः ।
आ प्रा द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ॥

I. 115.1

Here rises the beautiful, the one common Lord of all mankind, witness to everything, the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa[9], rolling up all darkness as if a sheet of leather."

उद्वेति सुभगो विश्वचक्षाः साधारणः सूर्यो मानुषाणाम् ।
चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्य देवः चर्मेव यः समविव्यक् तमांसि ॥

VII. 63.1

We saw how Mitra became the patron-god of royalty in his Western form. In the Ṛks, he is lauded as Rājā and Sukṣatra.

अयं मित्रो नमस्यः सुशेवो राजा सुक्षत्रः अजनिष्ट वेधाः ॥ III. 59.4

The first two Mantras of the hymn on Mitra may be quoted to bring out the several aspects of the deity : Mitra speaks to men and stirs them. He supports earth and heaven; he watches people with un-winking eye; to this Mitra we make our oblation.

मित्रो जनान् यातयति ब्रुवाणः मित्रो दाधार पृथिवीमुत द्याम् ।
मित्रः कृष्टीः अनिमिषाभि चष्टे मित्राय हव्यं घृतवज्जुहोत ॥

III. 59.1

Let the men who offer you oblations O Mitra ! be pre-eminent, as also those, O Āditya ! who, according to your ordinances, pay obeisance to

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8. According to Zoroastrian priests Mihir (Mithra) and Khorsed are the two eyes with which Ohrmazd surveys the world.

9. For a discussion of 'Yātayaj-jana' as an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa, in Ṛgveda, see *APOC. Proceed.* X. Tirupati (1940) p. 27

you; he who is aided by you is not slain nor vanquished; neither from near nor from afar does any trouble, come to him.

प्र स मित्र मर्तो अस्तु प्रयस्वान् यस्त आदित्य शिक्षति व्रतेन ।
न हन्यते न जीयते त्वोतो नैनमंहो अश्नोत्यन्तितो न दूरात् ॥

III, 59,2.

The moral aspect of the Solar deity, Mitra, Savitā, etc., which we saw in Avestan and other Western Mithraism, is very prominently and often mentioned in the Vedas, when he is praised singly or with his double Varuṇa. He is the Spy of the Universe. Spaśam viśvasya (Ṛv. IV. 13.3); he is often called Nṛ-cakṣa and Viśva-cakṣa, the supervisor of people. He is born of Ṛta and is the upholder of Ṛta, the moral order.

X. 85 1. ऋतेन आदित्यास्तिष्ठन्ति ।
VII. 66. 12-13 यदोहते वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा यूयमृतस्य रथ्यः ॥
ऋतावान् ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो घोरासो अनृतद्विषः ।

It may be noted that the Ādityas are here called also the formidable enemies of untruth. The Ādityas see the good and bad inside the people,

अन्तः पश्यन्ति वृजिनोत साधु ॥ II. 27.3

He is not only the brilliant and vigilant Eye above but also the divine benevolent Eye that bestows on us long life and health and well-being.

तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं शुक्रमुच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शतम् । जीवेम शरदः शतम् ॥

VII. 66.16.

The Ādityas are so considerate that like birds they spread their protective wings over their supplicants and give them happiness.

पक्षा वयो यथोपरि व्यस्मे शर्म यच्छत ॥ VIII. 47.2.

He destroys all evils अप विश्वा दुरिता बाधमानः (Ṛv. I. 35.3). With a golden arm and omniscient, Savitā moves between Heaven and earth and pervades the entire firmament with his glory.

हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिरुभे द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरीयते ।
अपामीवां बाधते वेति सूर्यमभि कृष्णेन रजसा द्यामृणोति ॥

Ṛv. I. 35.9.

With a golden arm, the life-giving Lord who leads us best and gladdens us, who is endowed with riches comes before us and being lauded, protects us against evil spirits in the nights.

हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनीथः सुमृळीकः स्ववाँ यात्वर्वाङ् ।
अपसेधन् रक्षसो यातुधानाः न स्थाद् देवः प्रतिदोषं गृणानः ॥

Ṛv. I. 35.10.

Adoring the Sun who is beyond darkness and sin, who is the supreme among the Gods, may we also attain to the supreme light.

उद् वयं तमसस्परि ज्योतिष्पश्यन्त उत्तरम् ।
देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमगन्म ज्योतिरुत्तमम् ॥

Ṛv. I. 50.10.

O Sun ! possessing a light which is beneficent to the whole world ! Rising and ascending the high Heaven, please destroy my inner afflictions, as also those of my external body.

उद्यन्नद्य मित्रमह आरोहन्नुत्तरां दिवम् ।
हृद्रोगं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च नाशय ॥

Ṛv. I. 50.11

O Savitar ! destroy all the evil and bestow on us all good.

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव । यद् भद्रं तन्न आसुव ॥

Ṛv. V. 82.5.

Invoking jointly the several Solar deities Savitā, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the devotee prays for welfare :

तत् सु नः सविता भगो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा ।
शर्म यच्छन्तु सप्रथो यदीमहे ॥

Ṛv. VIII. 18.3.

Another joint prayer to the several Solar deities–As they rise today, may Sūrya, the flawless Mitra, Aryaman, Savitā and Bhaga extend to me their riches.

यदद्य सूर उदितेऽनागा मित्रो अर्यमा । सुवाति सविता भगः ॥

Ṛv. VII. 66.4.

For a third joint prayer to several Solar deities for manifold welfare and several good things of life, the whole hymn Ṛv. II. 27 may be cited.

Like an engineer Savitā has centered the beam and the pillar of the vault of Heaven, and has set the world in happiness. He has made the Heaven yield waters and has shaken, as it were, the horse of the cloud tied above.

सविता यन्त्रैः पृथिवीमरम्णादस्कम्भने सविता द्यामदृंहत् ।
अश्वमिवाधुक्षद्धुनिमन्तरिक्षमतूर्ते बद्धं सविता समुद्रम् ॥

Ṛv. X. 149.1.

Savitā who bears the Heavens is universally desirable.

धर्ता दिवः सविता विश्ववारः ।

Ṛv. X. 149.4.

By reason of all this the Vedic poet calls the Sun the Gem of the sky. (Ṛv. VI.51.1 : VII.63.4)

One of the common prayers to the Sun is for his blessings for long life and for being able to look at the Sun all the time. (Ṛv. X. 36.14)

सविता पश्चात्तात् सविता पुरस्तात् सवितोत्तरात्तात् सविताधरात्तात् ।
सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिं सविता नो रासतां दीर्घमायुः ॥
उद्यन्तं त्वा मित्रमहो दिवे दिवे । ज्योग्जीवाः प्रति पश्येम सूर्य ॥

Ṛv. X. 37.7.

Indeed as the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (I.14.1) says : Āditya is effulgence, brilliance, strength, fame, all the faculties of seeing, hearing, etc., self, mind, indignation, thought, death, truth, friendliness, the various elements wind, ether, etc., life-breath, the protector of the world, the creator, anything and everything, happiness, food, life, immortality, the universe, the creator, the year. Such is the great Spirit, the Sun, the Lord of the Beings.

आदित्यो वै तेज ओजो बलं यशश्चक्षुः श्रोत्रमात्मा मनो मन्युर्मृत्युः सत्यो मित्रो वायुराकाशः प्राणो लोकपालः कः किं कं; तत्सत्यमन्नमायुरमृतो जीवो विश्वः

कतमः स्वयंभूः प्रजापतिरिति । संवत्सरोऽसावादित्यो य एष पुरुष एष भूतानामधिपतिः ।

It is with the same rays with which he produces heat that he produces rains, from rains vegetation, from vegetation food, from food life and strength; and austerity, faith, intellect, thoughts, mind, peace, ideas, memory, knowledge; from knowledge one attains bliss which is the Brahman and the source of everything.

याभिरादित्यस्तपति रश्मिभिस्ताभिः पर्जन्यो वर्षति पर्जन्येनौषधिवनस्पतयः प्रजायन्त ओषधिवनस्पतिभिरन्नं भवत्यन्नेन प्राणाः प्राणैर्बलं बलेन तपस्तपसा श्रद्धा श्रद्धया मेधा मेधया मनीषा मनीषया मनो मनसा शान्तिः शान्त्या चित्तं चित्तेन स्मृतिं स्मृत्या स्मारँस्मारेण विज्ञानं विज्ञानेनाऽऽत्मानं वेदयति तस्मादन्नं ददन्त्सर्वाण्येतानि ददात्यन्नात्प्राणा भवन्ति भूतानां प्राणैर्मनो मनसश्च विज्ञानं विज्ञानादानन्दो ब्रह्म योनिः ।

Alreay in the Ṛgveda the Sun is prayed to for immortality–Amṛtatva.

तत् सविता वोऽमृतत्वमासुत् । Ṛv. I. 110.3.

Of the Sun and immortality we shall see more as we come to the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. There are some characteristic descriptions of the Sun in terms of different kinds of birds traversing space, Tārkṣya, Suparṇa, Vāyasa, etc. (Ṛv. X. 177. 1,2; V. 47.3; I. 191.9; VII. 63.5; V. 47.3). (Ṛv. X. 37.7,. The *Bull* which we saw in Western Mithraism is seen in the Ṛv. as an image of the Sun.(Rv. V. 47.3 and I. 189.1). He is described as the wheel, *Cakra* in I. 175.4; IV. 28.2; V. 29.10.

Each of the names of the Solar deities referred to above emphasises an aspect of the Sun. Mitra whom we saw in Avesta and Western Mithraism as the Lord of Peace and compac in war, friendliness, and guardian of promise and promoter of victory appears with the same ideas in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, II.1.8.4 :

संग्रामे संयत्ते समयकामो मित्रमेव स्वेन भागधेयेनोपधावति स एवैनं मित्रेण संनयति विशालो भवति व्यवसाययत्यैवेनम् ।

Aryaman is the same as Mitra or friend. Bhaga is a giver of bounty and fortune; according to Yāska he is the Sun of the forenoon. Aryaman is apportioner, an aspect of Bhaga. In several hymns Mitra, Varuṇa, Savitā, etc. are referred to as Pūta-Dakṣa, endowed with purified strength, but

separately Dakṣa meaning 'the dexterous' is also mentioned as a form of the Sun. Savitā is the inspirer and stimulator and he is the deity of the great Gāyatrī which we all adore. Pūsan is the Lord and protector of the path-ways and cattle, and vivifier, one of his epithets being Puṣṭiṁbhara. Vivasvat is the Lord who shines forth. Of all the Solar deities Viṣṇu deserves special notice and several of the incarnations with which Viṣṇu is associated in mythology could be traced in the descriptions of Solar deity Viṣṇu in the Ṛg Veda. The Kaustubha on his chest is the Sun himself. Viṣṇupada is the sky itself. Varāha is also a solar phenomenon, as also Trivikrama of three strides. The association of the Sun with Indra, led to the Upendra form of Viṣṇu later.

It is in the well known Mantras of Sūrya Namaskāra in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka that we have the full picture of the Sun as the Lord of the year and seasons. Here we have also descriptions of the phenomena relating to the Sun and light. The Mantras here refer also to the number of Suns which gradually developed into the concept of twelve Suns. (Dvādaśa Ādityas.). In one Mantra we have the following seven Suns–Aroga, Bhrāja, Paṭara, Pataṅga, Svarnara, Jyotiṣīmān, Vibhāsa. Kaśyapa is mentioned as the eighth form. In another we have the mention of Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātā, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvān.

A passing reference should be made ot Sūryā, the daughter of Sūrya the Sun, whose marriage with the Aśvins forms the subject-matter of Ṛv. X.85. For it is the Mantras uttered at her marriage that we use to this day for consecrating all marriages.

We shall now come to the deeper esoteric worship of the Sun as it evolved from some of the Mantras of the Ṛv. Samhitā already referred to and in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads which specialised in esoteric worship. The Taitt. Āran. (II. ii.2) says that a Brahmin attains all welfare by contemplating upon the rising and the setting Sun as the Supreme Brahman itself. By such meditation, he becomes Brahman itself :

उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तमादित्यमभिध्यायन्कुर्वन्ब्राह्मणो विद्वान्त्सकलं भद्रमश्नुतेऽसावा-
दित्यो ब्रह्मेति । ब्रह्मैव सन्ब्रह्माप्येति य एवं वेद ॥

The Sun and Solar light and energy have a close relation to Vāk or Sonant energy. The Mantra par excellence of the Vedas, Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī, has had a great role in the whole field of esoteric worship, including the Upāsanā of the Supreme Being. Sonant energy and Solar energy are

considered as two forms of the same Jyotis and the Sun is Himself the Ṛk, Yajus, and Sāma Vedas : it is the three-fold Vedic knowledge that shines forth as the Sun. The eight-letter mantra of Āditya, Saura Aṣṭākṣara, *'Ghṛṇiḥ Sūrya Aditya Om'* is to be meditated upon and one realises Āditya as the Light, Bliss, Immortality, the Brahman and all the three world.

आदित्यो वा एष एतन्मण्डलं तपति तत्र ता ऋचस्तदृचां मण्डलँ स ऋचां लोकोऽथ य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डलेऽर्चिर्दीप्यते तानि सामानि स साम्नां लोकोऽथ य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डलेऽर्चिषि पुरुषस्तानि यजूँषि स यजुषां मण्डलँस यजुषां लोकः सैषा त्रय्येव विद्या तपति य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुष इति ।।

There are two kinds of Upāsanās which we come across in the Upaniṣads, the Pratīka Upāsanā and the Ahamgraha Upāsanā. In the former an object is itself meditated upon as a symbol and in the latter the indwelling spirit in the thing as identical with one's self is meditated upon. In both these forms the Sun occurs in Upāsanās in the Upaniṣads particularly in the two big ones, the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadārṇyaka. The best known is the Madhu vidyā in Chānd. 3.

ओम् । असौ वा आदित्यो देवमधु तस्य द्यौरेव तिरश्चीनवंशोऽन्तरिक्षमपूपो मरीचयः पुत्राः । तस्य ये प्राञ्चो रश्मयस्ता एवास्य प्राच्यो मधुनाड्यः । *etc.*

where the Sun is described as embodying in its rays in all the four directions, the four Vedas and in its upward rays, the Madhunāḍīs. There is a further form in which the Sun does not move, rise or set but remains hanging in the middle, motionless as it were. The Gāyatrī is related to this Upāsanā of the Sun, as also the five centres in the heart in which the Sun is said to be present.

In Bṛhadāraṇyaka I.5.23, it is said, that it is in the life breath, Prāṇa, that the Sun rises and sets :

अथैष श्लोको भवति यतश्चोदेति सूर्योऽस्तं यत्र च गच्छति इति, प्राणाद्वा एष उदेति प्राणेऽस्तमेति । *etc.*

In Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.4.5, the Sun is described as the honey or the most enjoyable thing of all beings and he who is present in the Sun and the

effulgent immortal being within the eye of men–these two are identified as the Self, the Immortal, the Brahman which is everything.

अयमादित्यः सर्वेषां भूतानां मध्वस्यादित्यस्य सर्वाणि भूतानि मधु । *etc.*

The same idea is taken up again in Bṛhadārṇyaka V. 4.2 :

तद्यत्तत्सत्यमसौ स आदित्यो य एष एतस्मिनमण्डले पुरुषो यश्चायं दक्षिणेऽक्षन् पुरुषः । *etc*.

Already in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka we noted the Mantra referring to the golden Puruṣa in the Āditya :

य एष अन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुषः । I. 10.13.
य एष आदित्ये पुरुषः स परमेष्ठी ब्रह्माऽऽत्मा I. 10.63.

The Chāndogya reverts to this golden Puruṣa who is of golden hair and is all gold up to his very finger tips :

अथ य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुषो दृश्यते हिरण्यश्मश्रुर्हिरण्यकेश आप्रणखात्सर्व एव सुवर्णः ॥

These are referred to as the Āditya, the Antarāditya and the Akṣi Vidyās.

Concluding the Āditya Upāsanā the Chāndogya says at the end of Chapter III that even as when the Sun rises, beings and their actions and desires rise up, and the Sun is greeted all round with shouts of joy, even so he who adores the Sun as the Brahman and thereby attains the Brahman, is attended on all sides by people who raise shouts of joy in his honour :

अथ यत्तदजायत सोऽसावादित्यस्तं जायमानं घोषा उलूलवोऽनूदतिष्ठन्त्सर्वाणि च भूतानि च सर्वे च कामास्तस्मात्तस्योदयं प्रति प्रत्यायनं प्रति घोषा उलूलवोऽनूत्तिष्ठन्ति सर्वाणि च भूतानि सर्वे चैव कामाः । स य एतमेवं विद्वानादित्यं ब्रह्मेत्युपास्तेऽभ्याशो ह यदेनँ॒ साधवो घोषा आ च गच्छेयुरुप च निम्रेडेरन्निम्रेडेरन् ॥

Among the lesser Upaniṣads the Maṇḍala Brāhmaṇopaniṣad sets forth the teaching on Sūryopāsanā which Yājñavalkya, who got his Veda (the Śukla yajus or Vājasaneya) from the Sun Himself, is taught by Āditya. The Sūryopaniṣad contains several Sun Mantras the practice of which secures a number of material and spiritual gains. The Akṣi Upaniṣad expatiates on the Upāsanā of Sūrya through the Cākṣuṣmatī Vidyā for

the obtaining of unimpaired eye-sight; the Sāvitrī Upaniṣad is also important as it deals with the Upāsanā of Gāyatrī and, as many do not know, this is the only text which speaks about the Bala and Atibala Mantras which we know Viśvāmitra, the Seer of the Gāyatrī, taught Rāma and lakṣmaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa. There is also a Sūryatāpinī Upaniṣad published by the Adyar Library in their Volume "Unpublished Upaniṣads in which the Sun as the Supreme Deity and his Upāsanā are descrribed. The twelve Sūryas, Mitra, Ravi, Sūrya, Bhaga, Khaga, Pūṣan, Hiraṇyagarbha, Marīci, Āditya, Savitā, Arka, and Bhāskara[10] are mentioned. Several Sūrya Mantras including the Saura Aṣṭākṣara are described, as also the method of contemplation of Sūrya, his Pūjā and his Yantra.

In philosophy we know of the two paths of Devayāna and Pitṛyāna, the former referring to the path of light leading to liberation through the Sun. These two paths are also derived from the course of the Sun and the Sun as a medium of spiritual progress.

III

In the heroic annals of ancient India, in which the two epics were born, the Sun figures along with the Moon, as in other ancient civilizations of the world, as the progenitor of the line of kings–the Sūryavaṁśa. He is the prime ancestor of the Kings of the Rāmāyaṇa. Naturally his worship occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa. Particularly when Rāma feels somewhat fatigued on the battle field of Laṅkā, Sage Agastya, son of Mitrā-Varuṇa, teaches Rāma the hymn of Āditya-hṛdaya which Rāma recites thrice and feels reinforced; the Sun looks at Rāma in great joy and asks Rāma to hurry up and kill Rāvaṇa :

एतत् त्रिगुणितं जप्त्वा युद्धेषु विजयिष्यसि ।

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10. The list of twelve Ādityas differs from text to text. Another list is Dhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu. The anonymous commentary on Sāmbapañcāśikā(JSS. 104., on verse 4) quotes a verse which gives the twelve Ādityas with a slight difference, adding Indra and Parjanya and dropping Sūrya and Savitar from the above list. The commentary adds that the twelve Ādityas preside over the twelve months and that, according to the Mahābhārata, Mārtānda is the composite form of all these twelve.

आदित्यं प्रेक्ष्य जप्त्वा तु परं हर्षमवाप्तवान् ।
अथ रविरवदन्निरीक्ष्य रामं
मुदितमनाः परमं प्रहृष्यमाणः ।
निशिचरपतिसंक्षयं विदित्वा
सुरगणमध्यगतो वचस्त्वरेति ॥

Yuddha. 107. 26, 29, 31.

It is not so well known to many that earlier, in the context when Sītā swoons on seeing the magic head of Rāma brought before her by Vidyujjihva, her friend Trijaṭā gives Sītā the same advice that she might turn to the Sun and seek solace and strength from him.

गिरिवरमभितोऽनुवर्तमानो
हय इव मण्डलमाशु यः करोति ।
तमिह शरणमभ्युपैहि देवं
दिवसकरं प्रभवो ह्ययं प्रजानाम् ॥

Yuddha. 33.36.

This relation of the Sun to battle and victory would remind us of the Sun as God of war and victory in western Mithraism, dealt with earlier.

In the Mahābhārata, the best known episode is the exiled Yudhiṣṭhira worshipping the Sun in the beginning of the Vana-parvan and obtaining from the Sun the vessel of inexhaustible food, Akṣayapātra. In this connection we have a hymn of 108 names (Aṣṭottaraśatanāma-stotra) of the Sun by Yudhiṣṭhira[11]. Earlier, in Ādi parvan, in the story of the marriage of Sūrya's daughter Tapatī, there is a stotra on Sūrya, by Sage Vasiṣṭha, another Maitrāvaruṇi.

We cannot take leave of the Mahābhārata without referring to the story of Yavakrīta told in connection with the hermitage of Sage Lomasa in the Tīrthayātra-parvan of the Vanaparvan. In this connection we have the related story of the brothers Parāvasu and Arvāvasu, the former having killed his father mistaking him for a sylvan animal, and the brother expiating for this sin. Arvāvasu is here described (Chs. 138-140 according to different editions) as performing penance to propitiate the

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11. For a detailed study of this hymn, see V.M. Bedekar, B.K. Barua Com. Vol., Gauhati, 1966, pp. 57-67.

Sun God who appears before him. Arvāvasu is mentioned as having composed or seen the *Rahasya Veda* of *Sūrya* for propitiating the Sun, (Verse 17 to 18) and the establishment of *Saura Veda*, with the blessings of Sun (Verse 22)

रहस्यवेदं कृतवान् सूर्यस्य द्विजसत्तम: ॥
and
प्रतिष्ठां चापि वेदस्य सौरस्य द्विजसत्तमाः ॥

This is an intriguing reference and cannot obviously be to the Śukla Yajurveda because none of the names mentioned here are known in connection with Śukla Yajus in any of its Śākhās. Neither have we any text of this name that has come down to us. Although the critical edition relegates the lines referring to the Saura Veda, to the footnotes, from our acquaintance with works, manuscripts and the process of their authentication and incorporation in the main tradition, we can say that such a reference would never get into a work like the Mahābhārata, unless there was a text answering to his name current among those in whose midst it was in vogue.

IV

We shall now take a quick survey of the state of Sun-worship as seen from historical evidences. Sun worship had a somewhat interesting development in historical times. As we have seen, it was the oldest Vedic worship of the country, and its continuity is borne out by archaeological evidence also. As shown by Jitendranath Banerjee[12] there are some very ancient coins with wheel and lotus representations and these are not Buddhistic but symbols of the Sun. But into this ancient and native Sun-worship flowed the one which successive waves of immigrants from Persia, the Magas of Śakadvīpa, brought with them; their Mitra or Mihira cult, gave a fresh impetus to it. They probably started coming in during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, when after a boom, the Mitra cult began to decline in the West and Middle East. The Śakadvīpi Maga priests who came in the earlier waves of immigration got absorbed into the Brahmin community, with the course a special appellation, Maga,

12. The Representation of the Sun in Brahmanical Art, *Indian Antiquary*, August 1925, pp. 161-3.

Bhojaka or Śakadvīpi. The story of the chiselling of the Sun by Tvaṣṭā which the Purāṇas say was done in the Śakadvīpa is known to poet Kālidāsa (Raghu . VI. 32). Many Gupta kings and Chiefs bore Sun names. More than one monument and epigraph bears witness to the new vogue that Sun-worship gained during the Gupta age; we have thus the Mandasor Sun temple and inscription (A.D. 473-4), the Indore Copper Plate grant of Skandagupta I (A.D. 465-6) and in the reign of Jīvitagupta II of the later Guptas of Magadha, the Deo Baranark inscription mentioning Sun-worship and the Sun-priest Bhojaka Sūryamitra. It is highly probable that ancient Brahmin- names with Mitra-endings denote a Maga connection. In the sixth century, Varāhamihira who was in all likelihood of Maga descent, describes the iconography of the Sun in Persian style (Bṛhatsaṁhitā 57.46-48)[13] and refers to Magas as the priests proper for Sun-worship (ib. 60.19). Hieun-Tsang describes a glorious Sun-temple attracting a thousand pilgrims a day at Multan[14] around which a large community of Magas had settled, and another splendid Sun-temple at Kanauj[15]. The great Sun-temple Mārtaṇḍa in Kashmir belongs to 8th Century A.D. Inscriptions refers to the father and grandfather of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, Prabhākaravardhana and Āditya-vardhana, both of these bearing Sunnames, as Paramāditya-bhaktas. The second day of Emperor Harṣa's periodical congregations was dedicated to the Sun. Poet Mayura of the Court wrote the famous hymn Sūryaśataka and is believed to have been cured of leprosy by the grace of the Sun God. Bāṇa, in his Harṣacarita confirms this vogue of Sun-worship by describing Prabhākaravardhana's daily adoration of the Sun and the recital three times a day of the Mantra called Adityahṛdaya. This Ādityahṛdaya may be the text now found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the Vālmıki Rāmāyaṇa (Agasty-Rāma-Saṁvāda) or the other longer text (Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna-Saṁvāda) assigned in many manuscipts to the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa. Of this last-mentioned Puraṇa, whose original text may go to the Gupta times, the opening book called the Brahmaparvan is, in most part, on the worship of the Sun and on the history of the Magas or Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas from the Śakadvīpa. Inscriptions continue to

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13. The Viṣṇudharmottara also prescribes this 'Udīcya-veṣa' with coat, boots, the Persian Avyaṅga etc. for the Sun-image.
14. Watters, II. 294.
15. Ib. I. p. 352.

mention these Maga Brāhmaṇas as such[16]; and for his part Medhātithi, on Manu (II. 6) would keep Magas and their worship of the Sun distinct from that of the Sun accroding to the Veda and the Pañcāyatana-worship and classify the Bhojaka as being outside the Vedic pale. Besides the portions in the major Purāṇas devoted to Sun-worship, the Saura-literature of this period comprises the Sāmba-Upapurāṇa, known to Alberuni, and the *Saurasaṁhitā*, a text in 700 verses. a manuscript of which, dated 941 A.D. is known[17]. At the close of the chapter on the consecration of images in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā (Ch. 59.22), Varāhamihira says that one should look up the Sāvitra for more details regarding Sun-worship, and Utpala explains that the reference is to a *Saura Śāstra* of that name; under 59.19, Utpala speaks of the procedure set forth in the *Saurasāstra*.

V

Some references have already been made to Purāṇas containing Saura material. Several of the well-known Purāṇas have incidental descriptions of the worship of the Sun, Brahma, Skanda, Varāha, Matsya, Agni, Garuḍa, Nāradīya and Mārkaṇḍeya which has eleven chaps. on the Sun (102-110) and the stories of his birth etc. the section includes three hymns to the Sun. In the Liṅga (Uttara-bhāga, ch. 22), a Saura-snāna or Sun-bath is enjoined before the Bhasma-snāna (smearing the body with holy ash) as a preliminary to the worship of Śiva; a Bhāskara Navākṣara Mantra is given; in Aṅga-nyāsa, the Sun is described as being of the form of the Trimūrtis, Brahmā being the Hṛdaya, Viṣṇu Śiras and Rudra Śikhā; and the Dhyāna prescribed is 'सूर्योऽहम्'-'I am Sūrya'. Special note however should be taken of the Bhaviṣya and Sāmba which are regular Saura Purāṇas. The sun and his worship described in these two are of the type of Sun-image and forms of worship as practised by Maga Brāhmaṇas who had come from Śakadvīpa. Sāmba Purāṇa in 84 Chaps. available in the Venkatesvara Edition, deals with Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, being cursed with leprosy, his worship of the Sun for becoming cured, his bringing of the Maga Brāhmaṇas to Mitra Vana or the forest of the Sun near Multan, the story of the Sun being chiselled by Viśvakarman in Śakadvīpa, characteristics of Sun's image, his temple, methods of his

16. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, IX. p. 279, inscription dated 861 A.D.
17. Haraprasad Shatri, Report of Search for Sanskrit Mss., 1895-1900. p. 5.

worship, Sun as the supreme deity of worship for attaining all objects including Mukti, the consorts of the Sun-God Saṁjñā, Rājñī, Chāyā, etc.[18], the twelve names of the Sun and the twelve Ādityas, the evolution of the Universe as born of the Sun, Sun's attendants[19], performance of Sun's festivals, Sunmantras, several Sun-hymns, centres of Sun-worship in India like Sutīra which seems to be same as Koṇārk, Kālapriya and Mitravana (Mūlasthāna). Kālapriya is near Kanauj and its Sun-temple is the one referred to by Hieun-Tsang. Here was the temple of the Sun called Kālapriyanātha before which, as V.V. Mirashi has shown, Bhavabhūti's three plays were staged; it is significant in this connection that Bhavabhūti prays to the Sun in the prologue to his Malatīmādhava. There is a lot of common matter between the Sāmba and the Bhaviṣya Purānas. The latter part of Sāmba Purāṇa seems to represent a Tantric text on Sun-worship called jñānottara.

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa in its earlier part gives all the above mentioned episodes relating to Sāmba and the Maga Brāhmaṇas and the worship of the Sun as the supreme God. Besides these there was a regular Āditya Purāṇa but with this title there are at least three Purāṇas glorifying Śiva, Viṣṇu and sun[20]. Of the last, with which alone we are now concerned, only one extracts dealing with some aspects of Sun worship are available. No full manuscript of this Purāṇa has come to light. This may be identical with old Saura Purāṇa dealing with Sun, of which again we have no mss. yet, and which is different from the Saura Purāṇa printed in the Ānandāśrama and dealing with Śiva.

VI

Among other texts on Sūrya worship, which are known from mss. or citations, the following may be mentioned; *Sūryarahasya* tantra, by Vrajarāja; *Sūryāgama* or *Saurāgama* quoted by the Dharma śāstra writers Raghunandana and Kamalākara; *Sūryādipañcāyatana-pratiṣṭhā-pddhati* by the well-known Dharma śāstra writer of Banaras, Divākara; *Sūryāvalokana-prayoga* on how to gaze at the Sun; *Sauradharma* and *Saura-dharmottara* quoted by Hemādri, Raghunandana, Kamalākara and several other Nibandha writers; and *Sauratantra* quoted by

18. Other wives are Svarṇā, and Nikṣubhā.
19. Such as Māṭhara, Piṅgala, Daṇḍa.
20. See New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. II pp. 72-74.

Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakośa. There are also several amorphous texts called Saura etc. setting forth details of Sūryopāsanā texts giving Sūryapūjā, Sūrya-mantras etc. The *Prapañca sārasaṁgraha* of Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī deals at some length in its fourteenth and fifteenth paṭalas with Saura Mantras, Yantras etc., following the treatment of the same in Śaṅkara's Prapañcasāra, paṭala fourteen. Texts called Tṛca, Tṛcakalpa and so on deal with Sūryopāsanā and the gteat Śākta authority Bhāskararāya wrote a *Tṛcabhāskara*.

VII

Reference was already made to Sūrya-hymns. The most popular one with us is the Ādityahṛdaya of the Rāmāyaṇa. There are other texts. shorter and longer of this name assigned to other sources, like the Bhaviṣyottara[21]. There are several nāmastotras, Dvādaśa, Aṣṭottaraśata, and Sahasranāma the last mentioned being assigned to the Bhaviṣyottara. There are hymns of the Sun from Purāṇas and Tantras. Of hymns in the line of the *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra, there are a few worthy of mention: The *Sāmba-pañcāśikā,* fifty verses ascribed to Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, published in Kāvyamālā (No. 13) and in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 104). This hymn itself is mentioned in the Varāhapurāṇa and it has in its K. M. edition the learned commentary of the Kashmirian Saivite writer Kṣemarāja and in the Trivandrum edition, another equally learned anonymous commentary. This is easily the most important of Sūryastotras of the classical times; it integrates Yoga and the philosophy of Vāk (speech) with the worship of the Sun who is conceived here on advaitic lines as the Supreme Being. Next in importance is the *Āditya-stotra-ratna* by Śrī Appayya Dīkṣita, with his own commentary; this deals with the adoration of Āditya by himself, as Brahman and as being presided over by Śiva. On the model of Mayura's hymn, the well-known Paṇḍitarāja Jagannatha wrote the Sun-hymn called Sudhālaharī. Gopāla Śarman, Śrīśvara and Kodaṇḍarama are three other poets who produced each a Sūryaśataka probably on the same Mayūra-model.

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21. See *ibid.* pp. 76-79.

VIII

Some of the renowned and ancient Sun-temples of the North have been referred to. But the greatest gift of Sun-worship to the art of Temple architecture and sculpture is the Sun-temple of Koṇārk in Orissa, built by King Narasiṁhadeva of Orissa, 1230-64 A.D. One of the leading dollar-earning temples of India, Koṇārk, fashioned like the the chariot of the Sun, is one of the most magnificently carved temples of the country.

In South India, in Hanumakoṇḍa in Warangal, the Kākatīya capital, there is a temple with three shrines dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. Andhra has another Sun temple at Arasavalli near Śrī Kūrmam and on the day of the Shan-mata conference, dedicated to Sun, our Ācārya has arranged for special worship to the Sun at this temple. There is hardly a shrine in Tamilnad without Sūrya in the Navagraha group; some have additionally a separate standing figure of the Sun. The most important of such a separate representation of Sūrya is the exquisite carving of Sūrya's chariot with his horses in Gaṇgikoṇḍacolapuram, which, at the bidding of our Ācārya, is now receiving special attention and pūjā. I am told that a similar Sūryaratha is to be seen in Dārā. śuram. There are many shrines where according to the kṣetra māhātmya Sūrya was worshipped or Sūrya worshipped Śiva.

The lower rock-cut cave in Tiruchi has a series of shrines to the Pañcāyatana deities including the Sun. The Nāgeśvarasvāmin temple in Kumbhakoṇam of the early Cola age has a separate shrine for Sūrya. In the Kacchapeśvara temple in Kanchipuram, there is a shrine to the Sun, and verses from Mayūra's Sūūrya-śataka were inscribed here on the pillars, but only a bit of one of these pillars is now preserved in the Madras Museum. An exclusive Sūrya Kṣetra in Tamilnad is Sūryanārkoli of Kulottuṅga Cola's time. At Tiruvarur, the writer's birthplace and an old and famous kṣetra, there was a Sūrya temple with a Sūrya tank, but the latter alone is now seen.

T. Gopinatha Rao has noticed in his book on Hindu Iconography Sun-images, standing as well as seated in the chariot, from Chittorgarh in Marwar, Ajmere, Ellora: from Haveri, Nuggehalli and Belur in Karnataka; from Guḍimallam; from Melacheri near Kāverippākkam. He has also reproduced an interesting Sūrya-toraṇa from the Sun temple of

Junagarh in which eleven Ādityas are sculptured on the toraṇa with the twelfth in the inner shrine.

South Indian Sun-sculpture does not show any trace of the 'Udīcya - veṣa' brought by the Magas.

IX

An intense region-wise survey yield abundant data on the historical, archaeological and religious side: for an example of such a regional study, we may refer to the paper by P.N. Bhatt 'The Sun-cult in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra' (AIOC. XVIIth. Ahmedabad, pp. 429-436). The festivals and other celebrations and customs still prevalent show the vogue of Sun-worship even among the common folk. It is not as if Sun-worship is prevalent only among the higher classses. Sun-worship is prevalent in different forms among the tribal folk as well. For example, Tarak Chandra Das has described Sun-worships among the aboriginal tribes of Eastern India, in the J. of the Dept. of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol XI. 1924, pp. 87-94.

X

In the Upaniṣads we saw the Upāsanā of Sūrya as presided over by the Supreme Being Puruṣa. This Puruṣa in the Ādityamaṇḍala has also been taken in Saguṇa form as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa or as Sāmba (Śiva). According to the internal preferences of the Pañcāyatana worshipper, those who prefer Nārāyaṇa as the indwelling Being contemplate so:

ध्येयस्सदा सवितृमण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायणः सरसिजासनसन्निविष्टः ।
केयूरवान् मकरकुण्डलवान् किरीटी हारी हिरण्मयवपुर्धृतशङ्खचक्रः ॥

and those who prefer Śiva contemplate accordingly.

सौरमण्डलमध्यस्थं साम्बं संसारभेषजम् ।
नीलग्रीवं विरूपाक्षं नमामि शिवमव्ययम् ॥

Of Viṣṇu or Śiva, the Sun, along with the Moon, has also been taken as the Eye. Cf. the *puruṣa Sūkta:*

चक्षोस्सूर्योऽजायत ।

The Sun was born of the eye of the Puruṣa. There are some composite sculptures of Sun, which may be taken as representing the Trimūrtis, Sun, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā with three or four faces. The Mārtāṇḍa-Bhairava image is to represent the Trimūrtis according to Śāradā Tilaka ब्रह्म-विष्णु-शिवात्मकाय सौराय योगपीठाय नमः. For a probable sculpture of this Mārtāṇḍa-Bhairava, see VIth All India Oriental Conference Proceedings Patna, pp. 243-7. According to the *Subhagodaya* quoted by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara in hsi commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*, verse 41, Devī also is to be contemplated in the Solar orb :

सूर्यमण्डलमध्यस्थां देवीं त्रिपुरसुन्दरीम् ।
पाशाङ्कुशधनुर्बाणहस्तां ध्यायेत्सुसाधकः ॥

Of Devī, the Sun, along with the Moon, is the brilliant ear-ring, Tāṭaṅka.

ताटङ्कयुगलीभूततपनोडुपमण्डला ।

Aprart from these is the worship of the Sun Himself as the main object of adoration, such as the Hindus do in their daily Sandhyā. Among Sūrya stotras, the Ādityahṛdaya, is to be recited thrice daily or as often as possible; among forms of worshipping the Sun with Vedic Mantras, the Sūrya-namaskāra is to be performed on Sundays or at least on the birth-days and whenever there is illness in the house. Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī (Rg. III. 62.10) is the famous Vedic mantra of God Savitṛ which is recited daily by Orthodox Hindus in their Sandhyā. It is by the prolonged Japa of Gāyatrī in three Sandhyās that, Manu says, the Ṛṣis became what they were :

ऋषयो दीर्घसन्ध्यत्वाद्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयुः ।
प्रज्ञां यशश्च कीर्तिं च ब्रह्मवर्चसमेव च ॥ IV. 94

May Gāyatrī, the Mother of the Vedas, as Her name promises, save Her reciters !

ORIGINAL PURĀṆA SAṀHITĀ*

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[अत्र मूलपुराणसंहिताया उत्पत्ति-स्वरूप-विस्तारादिविषये विवेचनं कृतम् । महर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन वेदसंहितानां पुराणसंहितानां च संकलनं कृत्वा शिष्येभ्यस्तासामध्यापनं कृतम् । पुराणसंहितास्तु व्यासात् प्राक्कालत एव प्रचलिता आसन् सूतैश्च तासां प्रवचनं कृतम् । सूतानां रोमहर्षणः प्रमुख आसीत् । व्यासः रोमहर्षणसाहाय्येन मूलपुराणसंहितायाः संग्रहं कृतवान् । एषा मूलपुराणसंहिता षड्भ्यः शिष्येभ्य अध्यापिता । तेषु शिष्येषु काश्यपः सावर्णिः शांशपायनश्च पुराणसंहितायाः प्रथमकर्तारो बभूवुः । इमाः पुराणसंहिताः चतुष्पादा आसन् । तत्र प्रथमे प्रक्रियापादे सर्गवर्णनम्, द्वितीये अनुषङ्गपादे देवर्षीणां ब्रह्मर्षीणां च वंशवर्णनम्, तृतीये उपोद्घातपादे मन्वन्तरवर्णनं राजर्षिवंशवर्णनञ्च चतुर्थे उपसंहारपादे च प्रतिसर्गवर्णनमासीत् । एषा चतुष्पादव्यवस्था वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः अद्यापि दृश्यते । कालान्तरेण मूलपुराणसंहितायामनेके नवीनविषया अपि समाविष्टाः, येन पुराणसंहिताया विस्तारो बभूव । अत्र वायुपुराणविषयाणां समालोचनं कृत्वा, मूलवायुपुराणसंहितायाः स्वरूपं निर्धारितं प्रक्षिप्ताध्यायानामपि पृथक् स्वरूपं प्रदर्शितम् तत्रैवं निर्धारितं मूलवायुपुराणमेव मूलपुराणसंहिताऽत्र स्वीकृता ।]

The compilation of the Purāṇa saṁhitā is traditionally attributed to Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana Vyāsa. He also accomplished a similar literary task in respect of the mass of Vedic mantras which in course of time had became divided into many schools. Their names for each Veda are listed in the Charaṇa-Vyūha and several Purāṇas. The credit is given to Vyāsa for organising the Saṁhitā texts of the four Vedas through his four pupils viz. Paila for Ṛgveda, Vaiśampāyana for Yajurveda, Jaimini for Sāmaveda and Sumantu for Atharvaveda. Here we are concerned with what Dvaipāyana Vyāsa undertook to do with respect to the transmission of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā.

We are indebted to the Vāyu Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa for a precise statement of how Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as an institution accomplished the difficult and important task of originating the Purāṇa Saṁhitā. The two texts are as follows :–

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* . Purāṇa, Vol. VIII., No 2 (July 1966) pp. 232-245.

षट्शः कृत्वा मयाप्युक्तं पुराणमृषिसत्तमाः ॥
आत्रेयः सुमतिर्धीमान् काश्यपो ह्यकृतव्रणः ।
भारद्वाजोऽग्निवर्चाश्च वासिष्ठो मित्रयुश्च यः ।
सावर्णिः सौमदत्तिस्तु सुशर्मा शांशपायनः ।
एते शिष्या मम ब्रह्मन् पुराणेषु दृढव्रताः ।
त्रिभिस्तिद्वस्नः कृतास्तिस्नः संहिताः पुनरेव हि ।
काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।
मामिका च चतुर्थी स्यात्ता चैषा पूर्वसंहिता ।
सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः ।
पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥
चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वाः शांशपायनिकामृते ।
लोमहर्षणिका मूला ततः काश्यपिकाऽपरा ।
सावर्णिकास्तृतीयास्ता ऋजुर्वाक्यार्थमण्डिताः ।
शांशपायनिकाश्चान्या नोदनार्थविभूषिताः ।

(Vāyu, 61.55-61)

षट्शः कृत्वा मयाप्युक्तं पुराणमृषिसत्तमाः ।
आत्रेयः सुमतिर्धीमान् काश्यपोऽकृतव्रणः ॥
भारद्वाजोऽग्निवर्चाश्च वासिष्ठो मित्रयुश्च यः ।
सावर्णिः सौमदत्तिश्च सुशर्मा शांशपायनः ॥
एते शिष्या मम प्रोक्ताः पुराणेषु धृतव्रताः ।
त्रिभिस्तत्र कृतास्तिस्नः संहिताः पुनरेव हि ॥
काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।
मामिका तु चतुर्थी स्यच्चतस्रो मूलसंहिताः ॥
सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः ।
पाठान्तरे वृथाभूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ।
चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वा शांशपायनिकामृते ।
लौमहर्षणिका मूला ततः काश्यपिका परा ॥
सावर्णिका तृतीयाऽसावृजुवाक्यार्थमण्डिता ।
शांशपायनिका चान्या नोदनार्थविभूषिता ॥

(Brahmāṇda Purāṇa II. 35. 63-69)

The Vāyu gives a list of 27 teachers who had inherited the Purāṇa lore from Brahmā upto Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. This list is as follows :

ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरिश्वने ।
तस्माच्चोशनसा प्राप्त तस्माच्चापि बृहस्पतिः ।
बृहस्पतिस्तु प्रोवाच सवित्रे तदनन्तरम् ॥
सविता मृत्यवे प्रादान्मृत्युश्चेन्द्राय वै पुनः ।
इन्द्रश्चापि वसिष्ठाय सोऽपि सारस्वताय च ॥
सारस्वतस्त्रिधाम्ने च त्रिधामा च शरद्वते ।

शरद्वतस्त्रिविष्टाय सोन्तरिक्षाय दत्तवान् ॥
वर्षिणे चान्तरिक्षो वै सोपि त्र्यारुणाय च ।
त्र्यारुणो धनञ्जये स च प्रादात्कृतञ्जये ॥
कृतञ्जयात्तृणञ्जयो भरद्वाजाय सोप्यथ ।
गौतमाय भरद्वाजः सोपि निर्यन्तरे पुनः ॥
निर्यन्तरस्तु प्रोवाच तथा वाजश्रवाय च ।
स ददौ सोमशुष्माय स ददौ तृणबिन्दवे ॥
तृणबिन्दुस्तु दक्षाय दक्षः प्रोवाच शक्तये ।
शक्तेः पराशरश्चापि गर्भस्थः श्रुतवानिदम् ॥
पराशराज्जातुकर्णस्तस्माद् द्वैपायनः प्रभुः ।
द्वैपायनात्पुनश्चापि मया प्रोक्तं द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
(Vāyu, 103.58-66)

Separating Brahmā and Vāyu as mythical names we have a list of 25 teachers for whom a period of 500 years may be allowed counting 20 years for each generation from the time of Uśanas to that of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. That was the pre-Saṁhitā stage of Purāṇa transmission. Its chronological position is problematical but a tentative supposition may be 1500 B.C.–1000 B.C. or even somewhat earlier.

We find from several versions e.g. in Linga Purāṇa ch. 64. that Parāśara in the above list occupied an important position so far as Purāṇa Saṁhitā was concerned; and it appears that Vyāsa himself owed his knowledge of the Purāṇas to Parāśara. It is said that Vasishṭha had a son named Śakti whose posthumous son was Parāśara. His pupil was Jātūkarṇa and his disciple was Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (पराशराज्जातुकर्णस्तस्माद् द्वैपायनः प्रभुः Vāyu 103.66). Probably Jātūkaraṇa was a senior fellow student of Vyāsa and the two learnt the Purāṇa from Parāśara. Vyāsa's role in this literary activity was two-fold : firstly, his relationship with the bards who were the traditional custodians of the Purāṇas and secondly, with the authorship of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā in a precise literary form.

MŪLA SAṀHITĀ

Vyāsa found that the material of the Puraṇas was in the hands of the Sūtas or bards. Their number seems to have been quite large and they were connected with many families and royal houses and they went about in their round meeting people with the object of imparting to them what they knew of the ancient genealogies, ballads and anecdotes. They were also invited for this purpose and held recitations. This institution of the bards was an ancient one referred to in the Yajurveda (Śatarudriya Book

XVI. 18, 26 as *Sūta Kṣattṛa*). The most important person of this class in the time of Vyāsa was Romaharshaṇa or Lomaharshaṇa. He was well versed in the material that had been orally handed down. He was taken into confidence by Vyāsa to collaborate in organising this branch of knowledge in a systematic manner and to continue what the Sūtas were already doing in the form of Kathā recitations. The work of collaboration between Dvaipāyana and Lomaharshaṇa seems to have been on this pattern that Vyāsa supplied the Vedic material of Purāṇic lore since the Purāṇas also existed in the time of Vedas and the Purāṇa knowledge is mentioned there by name. This is clearly specified in the Vāyu stating that Vyāsa undertook the substance of the Vedic subject matter to incorporate the same in the Puraṇic corpus सर्ववेदार्थघटितां व्यासः पौराणिकीं कथां Vāyu 104.20. This material seems to have appertained to various creation myths of the Ṛigveda and other Saṁhitās. The Sūta, on ther other hand, contributed his portion in the form of dynastic lists and genealogies of Ṛishis and kings.

This was the Mūla Saṁhitā or the original Purāṇa Saṁhitā at which Dvaipāyana himself seems to have worked. The Vishṇu Purāṇa ascribes its authorship to Romaharshaṇa and says that this formed the Mūla Saṁhitā which was the original of the three subsequent Saṁhitās giving the form of definite texts by Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi and Śāṁśapāyana. This seems to have contained mostly the topics and subjects forming the Purāṇa tradition and was of the nature of that class of literature which, according to Pāṇinian definition, was styled as *'tena proktam'* (IV.3.101). Lomaharshaṇa being instructed in this manner by Vyāsa as teacher continued the recitations of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā as other members of his class had been doing from much earlier times. Dvaipāyana and Lomaharshaṇa may be credited with the *pravachana* of the Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhitā in a manner that the *Prokta* technique of book-making implied. It was the cultivation of a new branch of knowledge by an eminent teacher who imparted its instructions to his disciples or members of his school. His own son named as Lauma-harshaṇi Sūta became an adept in this art. The house-holders assembled at Naimishāraṇya and known as Naimishīyāḥ resided under the leadership of Śaunaka to listen to a prolonged recitation of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā from the mouth of Lomaharshaṇa. The mūla-Saṁhitā was styled as Lomaharshaṇikā Saṁhitā. It is problematical how far that Saṁhitā was in the form of verses. It rather seems to have consisted mainly of the topics on which Lomaharshaṇa expatiated for the delectation of his Naimishīya audience. We know from other sources that

the progress of the twelve year session was interrupted during its ninth year (Tāṇḍya* 25.6.5) The thread was later on taken up on the banks of the Sarasvatī in Kurukshetra by some other Sūta.

The next approach of Romaharshaṇa in fulfilment of his obligation was more of an academic nature i.e. teaching the Mūla Saṁhitā i.e. the Lomaharshaṇikā Saṁhita or the Purāṇic lore to regular students who studied as an integral subject or branch of learning and on the tradition in schools similar to that of the Vedic schools. Romaharshaṇa admitted six pupils or students for this purpose to whom he imparted the mūla-saṁhitā as his Brahmachārins. They were Brahmachārin students under him, whose term of admission coincided with the period in which they learned the subject. For this special purpose we are envisaging some arrangement as implied in Pāṇini's rule तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् (V.1.94), The names of these six students are recorded in both Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa together with their Gotra names as follows

1. सुमति आत्रेय (i.e. of Atri Gotra)
2. अकृतव्रण काश्यप (i.e. of the Kaśyapa Gotra)
3. अग्निवर्चा: भारद्वाज (i.e. of the Bharadvāja Gotra)
4. मित्रयु वासिष्ठ (i.e. of the Vasishṭha Gotra)
5. सौमदत्ति सावर्णि (i.e. of the Sāvarṇa Gotra)
6. सुशर्मा शांशपायन (i.e. of the Śaṁśapa Gotra)

(also Vishṇu III. 6. 17-9 षट् शिष्यास्तस्य चाभवन्, 17)

It is said that Romaharshaṇa made six divisions of his Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhitā and taught his six pupils each one of them. Evidently this Mūla Saṁhitā had not yet taken the form of a book but consisted mainly of large number of topics and subjects. Their exact nature is not indicated. The *Pañchalakshaṇa Purāṇa* is a later attempt to give some idea of what the Mūla Saṁhitā comprised, but the same seems to have been of a fluid

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*. ते ह सप्तदशेभ्य एवाध्युत्तस्थुस्त उ होचुर्यो नः प्रजायामृध्यातै स एतत्सत्रं समापयादिति । तदेतत्समीप्सन्तो ब्राह्मणास्सत्रमासते ।

(टी.) ते नैमिशीयाः सप्तदशेभ्य एव सप्तदशस्तोमकेभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः संवत्सरेभ्यः सप्तदशं समाप्यैवाऽध्युत्तस्थुः सत्रादुत्थिता आसन् । तउह एते खलु तदेवमूचुः–यो दीक्षितो नोऽस्माकं प्रजायां पुत्रपौत्रादिलक्षणायां ऋध्यातै यज्ञाङ्गैः समृद्धस्स्यात् स एतत् सत्रं एकविंशवर्षत्रयमप्यनुष्ठाय समापयेदिति ।

एतावताऽस्य नवसंवत्सरानुष्ठानं विद्यते । तथाऽपि साधनसमृद्धावप्यनापदि सप्तदशेभ्य उत्थापनं कुर्यादित्युक्तं भवति । यस्माद्यो नः प्रजायामृध्याता इति नैमिशीयैरुक्तं तस्मादित्यर्थः । तत्सत्रं समीप्सन्तः समापयितुमिच्छन्तो ब्राह्मणा द्वादशसंवत्सरमेव सत्रमासते (इति ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणे सायणाचार्यविरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे) !

nature in which floating topics and themes from earlier and contemporary traditions were admitted with a certain amount of freedom. The details of the corpus depended on the interest of the listeners and the competence of the bards to comply with their wishes. The method of the interlocutors and narrators which is always recorded in the Purāṇa therefore played an important part in the organising of the subject matter.

PARA-SAṀHITĀ

Of the six students of Romaharshaṇa only three became the regular authors of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā texts. These were firstly Kāśyapa, secondly Sāvarṇi and thirdly Śāṁśapāyana. The other three viz. Sumati Ātreya, Mitrayu Vāsishṭha, Agnivarchas Bhāradvāja seem to have been of a less marked calibre and did not launch upon any literary venture.

The literary activity of the three pupils comes under the category of *Kṛte granthe* (IV.3.87) of Pāṇini as coming next to *'tena proktam'*; this is clearly mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता i.e. he gave it the form of a regular text or book. Thus there were two stages in the art of book-making, viz., the cultivation of a branch of knowledge by a master mind or original thinker and secondly, its treatment in the form of a book. These two stages were distinguished as *'tena proktam'* and *'adhikṛitya kṛite granthe'*. The teacher who mastered the subject and gave it the form of a regular book was the real *grantha-kartā* Such was the status of Kāśyapa who is mentioned as Saṁhitā Kartā. The style of Kāśyapa's work was simple and it consisted of *Vākyas* or sentences having some topics for their meaning (ऋजुवाक्यार्थमण्डिताः). This apppears to signify that these Saṁhitās were in a versified form, in a very simlified style as we find in several places in the extant older Purāṇas. The Saṁhitā texts of these three authors have been distinguished as परसंहिता to show their difference from the मूलसंहिता.

The Saṁhitā text of Kāśyapa Akṛitavraṇa became famous as *Kāśyapikā*, the Saṁhita of Sāvarṇi Saumadatti as *Sāvarṇikā* and the third one of Śāmśapāyana as *Śāṁśapāyanikā*. These three were regular Saṁhitā's which took the form of text or books consisting of ślokas, of which the common source was the Mūla Saṁhitā of Romaharshaṇa.

The extent as to the number of verses of these regular texts is given as 4000 ślokas each. This held good in the case of Kāśyapikā and Sāvarṇikā but the extent of the शांशपायनिका was some what different. What exactly it was is not said but in the Liṅga Purāṇa (64.122) we read of six thousand verses (षट् सहस्रान्वितम्) as the Puraṇa text in the initial stages when these

compilations were being done and that may have been the number in the शांशपायनिका संहिता.

THE THEORY OF PĀṬHĀNTARA

The reason why one Mūla Saṁhitā became transformed as three Para-samhitās in the hands of Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi and Śāṁśapāyana is so clear and precise that any modern diaskeuast could not wish for anything better. It is said that there was no essential difference between them but their distinction was rooted in variant readings or repetitions : पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा. The comparision with the Vedic Śākhās which were distinct from each other owing to their variants of words and phrases or repetitions of Mantras here and there is quite apt and graphic. In order to give a clear idea of the one Purāṇa Saṁhitā becoming three-fold in the hands of three disciples who had studied the subject from a common teacher.

एकार्थवाचिका :–

This statement is quite happy and initiates us more intimately into the inner nature of the three subsequent Saṁhitās. They were treating of the same topics or expressing the same meaning or declaring identical themes (एकार्थवाचिका:). The uniformity of significance was the most distinguishing feature of authorship for the three Saṁhitās. What this subject matter (एकार्थ) was we are left to conjecture and we may not be far from the truth if we discover these topics from the nature of the earlier Purāṇic text. Cosmogony (सर्ग) and genealogy were essentially two such subjects. The other two appear to have been Manvantara descriptions and pratisarga or dissolution. Thus Sarga and Pratisarga became one pair and Manvantara and Vaṁśa another pair of the subjects treated. For this reason the original Saṁhitās consisted of four pādas or a four-fold divisions and for following this scheme they were known as चतुष्पादा:

('चतुष्पादं पुराणं तु ब्रह्मणा विहितं पुरा' Vāyu, 32. 67.)

The चतुष्पाद division is preserved only in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas.

These are named as :–

प्रक्रिया प्रथमः पादः कथ्यवस्तुपरिग्रहः ।
उपोद्घातोऽनुषङ्गश्च उपसंहार एव च ॥ Vāyu 4.13.

प्रक्रियापाद
अनुषङ्गपाद
उपोद्घातपाद and

उपसंहारपाद

These more or less correspond to the पञ्चलक्षणपुराण definition as follows :–

1. प्रक्रियापाद i.e. creation corresponds to *Sarga* prakṛiyā implying सृष्टिप्रक्रिया. Chs. 1-6 in Vāyu are so named. The original topics under this head seem to have dealt with एकार्णवविधि, हिरण्यगर्भ or हिरण्याण्ड and the birth of ब्रह्मा from the golden egg. These three were Vedic topics enunciating the metaphysics of creation and were recast by Purāṇic writers in their own mould and definitions.

2. अनुषङ्गपाद–अनुषङ्ग literally implied connected matter i.e. the subjects connected with the first portion of सृष्टिविद्या. It included the birth and genealogies of ब्रह्मर्षिs , देवर्षिs and राजर्षिs but the last topic was transfered to the उपोद्घात division.

In the Vāyu the अनुषङ्ग division extends from Ch. 7 upto 58 with a supplementary portion of six chapters (59-64) added later on. At the end of its 58th ch. the Vāyu states :–

अनुषङ्गः समाख्यातः सृष्टिसर्गं निबोधत । (58. 126).

At the end of ch. 64 the same is repeated as follows :–

इत्येष वै मया पादो द्वितीयः कथितो द्विजाः । (64. 31)

The description of the देवयोनिs seems to have formed part of देवादि सृष्टि and came under this pāda.

3. उपोद्घातपाद

It seems to correspond to the मन्वन्तर division of the Purāṇas together with the dynastic lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties and the achievements of individual kings like Māndhātā, Hariśchandra, Purūravas and Yayāti who also were dovetailed under Vaṁśa. This seems to have been the subject styled उपोद्घात or the beginning and continuation of the genealogies.

The subject of Manvantaras specially स्वायम्भुव and वैवस्वत is found in three places in Vāyu viz. ch. 21, 61-62 and 85-89. This may be due to careless redaction and interposition of exotic material in place which do not conform to the context.

4. उपसंहार

This was the same topic as प्रतिसर्ग treating of the destruction of the worlds and to withdrawal of creation into its source. The Vāyu names this frankly as प्रतिसर्ग (ch. 102).

THE PAÑCHALAKSAṆA

The number of topics of the Purāṇas is generally put as पञ्चलक्षण viz. सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, वंश, मन्वन्तर and वंशानुचरित (Vāyu 4. 10-11 Matsya 53-64).

These subjects seem to have been quite compact to cover the pages of a single book of modest size, i.e. four thousand ślokas in extent. It is possible to recover it from the extant oldest Purāṇas, like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa etc. In course of time the number of topics was increased considerably from five to ten and from ten to hundred or more as found in the मत्स्य (Ch. 53 and 290) भागवत (II. 10.1-6) and the अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (XI. 31-56). According to the Nārada P. (Ch. 92-109) this list includes several hundred topics for all the eighteen Purāṇas.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT VĀYU PURĀṆA :

It is necessary to examine closely the contents of the present Vāyu Purāṇa to recover the Mūla Saṁhitā of about 4000 ślokas. We may proceed by eliminating such chapters as appear on the surface to bear the stamp of a later date or subsequent reduction, which are as follows :

INTERPOLATIONS

PRAKRIYĀ PĀDA

Chapter	Subject
1.	Anukramaṇikā (a long ch. of 205 ślokas giving the contents of the Purāṇa).
	ANUSHANGA PĀDA
8.	Chaturāśrama vibhāga
11.	Pāśupatayoga
12.	Yogopasarga
13.	Yogaiśvarya
14-15.	Pāśupatayoga
16.	Śauchāchāra
17.	Paramāśramavidhi
18.	Yati Prāyaśchitta
19.	Arishṭanirūpaṇa
20.	Omkāraprāptilakshaṇa
23.	Maheśvarāvatāra yoga
24.	Śārvastava (Śivastotra by Vishṇu)
25.	Madhukaiṭabh-otpatti
26.	Svarotpattiḥ
27.	Mahādevatānu-varṇanam (A description of the 8 names of Śiva and of the 9th as Kumāra).

32. Yugadharma
34-53. Jambūdvīpa, Bhuvanakośa, Jyotishprachāra.
54. Nīlakaṇṭhastava
55. Lingodbhava.

29. Agnivamśa-A concocted geneaiogical tree of the family of Fire which was improved by some Vedic scholar during Gupta times. The idea was inspired by the Sūrya and Chandra-Vamśa list, It is a compilation of 49 names of fire arranged as a family tree. It is also found in Matsya P. and also in the Epic.

56. 'Pitṛivarṇanam
57. Yajñavarṇanam
58-64. Chaturyugākhyāna
Ṛishi Lakshaṇa Veda Śākhā Purāṇaśākhā, Mahāsthana tīrtha, Pṛithivīdohana.

UPODGHĀTA PĀDA

71-87. Śrāddha
97-98. Vishṇumāhātmya

UPASAṀHĀRA PĀDA

101. Bhūrlokadivyāvasthā
104. Vyāsasamśayopanodanam.
105-112. Gayāśrāddha.

103. Sṛishṭivarṇanam–A repetition of the description of creation in later terminology importing the agency of the 3 guṇas and three devas.

The above statement of the spurious material extending over 80 adhyāyas appears to be very near the truth with a probable margin of 10%. The broad topics relating to Pāśupata yoga, Ashṭāṅga Yoga, Bhuvanakosha, Śrāddha, Gaya Māhātmya are undoubtedly later fabrications and cannot in any manner be ascribed to the Mūla-saṁhitā. Besides the subject-matter being of a later stratum some of these chapters are missing in manuscripts and their number of verses is quite long. The size of the original chapters is usually much less in their number of ślokas. Thus we may re-arrange the Chatushpāda Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhita as confined to the following topics and chapters as far as possible to retrieve them from the present recension of the Purāṇa.

Original

I. PRAKṚIYĀ PĀDA

Chapter	Subjects
2.	Dvādaśavārshika Sattra
3.	Prajāpatisṛishṭi
4-6.	Sṛshṭiprakaraṇam (Account of creation).
	II. ANUSHANGA PĀDA
7.	Pratisaṁdhivarṇanam
9.	Devādisṛishṭi
10.	Dakshavaṁśa
21-22.	Kalpanirūpaṇam
28.	Ṛishivaṁśa (genealogy of the Ṛishis)
30.	Dakshaśāpa
31.	Devavaṁśa
33.	Svāyambhuvavaṁśa
	III. UPODGHĀTA PĀDA
65.	Prajāpativaṁśa
66-69.	Kāśyapīya Prajāsarga
70.	Ṛishivaṁśa
88-89.	Vaivasvatamanuvaṁśa
90-95.	Somavaṁśa
96.	Vishṇuvaṁśa (A corollary of the Somavaṁśa subsequently added)
99.	Turvasvādivaṁśa
	IV. UPASAṀHĀRA PĀDA
100.	Manvantarāṇisarga (should be carried to Upodghāta)
103.	Pratisarga-varṇanam,

Thus we have for the Mūla-Purāṇa Saṁhitā or the Romaharshaṇikā Saṁhitā or the Saṁhitā-text as constituted of 4000 ślokas, a text comprised of about 30 chapters. The Samhitā produced under the authorship of Kāśyapa named Kāśyapikā may have been a simple modest text of this nature. The number of Adhyāyas may have been a little more but we think we are not far from the truth in arriving at the names of topic and the selection of subjects that were included in the four pādas of the Kāśyapikā Saṁhitā.

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A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE PURĀṆAS ON THE KṚṢṆA LĪLĀ*

BY

BALDEVA UPADHYAYA

[भारतीयवाङ्मये श्रीकृष्णचरितं सर्वव्यापि वर्तते । पुराणेषु वंशस्य वंशानुचरितस्य वा वर्णनप्रसङ्गे अथवा कुत्रचित् स्वतन्त्रतो वा श्रीकृष्णचरितं वर्णितमस्ति । अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन सयुक्तिकं प्रदर्शितं यत् न केवलमैतिहासिकदृष्ट्या एव श्रीकृष्णः तत्कालस्य सर्वाधिकमहत्त्वपूर्णो मानवः अपि तु सांस्कृतिकधार्मिकदृष्ट्याऽपि तस्य चरित्रमतिमहत्त्वपूर्णं वर्तते । वैष्णवसम्प्रदायेषु श्रीकृष्णस्य तत्प्रतिपादकपुराणानां च विशेषतः प्रभावो दृश्यते । अत्र अग्नि-ब्रह्म-पद्म-ब्रह्मवैवर्त-विष्णु-श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणानां श्रीकृष्णचरितस्य विवरणं दत्तम् । तत्र ये अंशा महत्त्वपूर्णास्तेषां महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितम् । अन्ततः संक्षिप्तरूपेण निबन्धस्य सारांशः प्रस्तुतः ।]

The Purāṇas hold a unique place in the history of the religious literature of the Hindus. They are an inexhaustible mine of pure gold in the shape of very useful and interesting information which they contain not only about the social and political history of this vast land but also about the ethical and philosophical problems of perennial interest. They are indeed a veritable encyclopaedia of Hindu Religion and Ethics. At a time when the language and the teachings of our oldest scriptures, the Vedas-the Fountain-head of all religions and philosophies-were, due to the prevailing ignorance of the age, liable to be misconstrued and misunderstood, the venerable Vedavyāsa, that great benefactor of humanity, took upon himself the onerous task of composing such works for the benefit of the erring mortals as will be suitable compendia for explaining in an easy way the subtle truths and the profound problems of the holy Śruti. These works are the present Purāṇas, which have got the obvious purpose of popularizing and propagating the ideas and ideals of the great Sanātana Dharma.

Āt present we are not concerned with the study of the age and authenticity of the Purāṇas. Suffice it to say that we hold all the eighteen

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* Pueāṇa XI, No-1 (January 1969) pp. 159-168.

Purāṇas to be of equal importance for the study of our ancient culture and religion and do firmly believe that, inspired as they are by a highly noble ideal for their composition, they are undoubtedly characterized by an unmistakable unity of purpose running through all them. As the classical definition[1] of Purāṇas (पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्) has it, they possess five well-known characteristics (लक्षण). They deal, as ideally conceived, with सर्ग (creation), प्रतिसर्ग (dissolution of the universe), वंश (royal genealogies), मन्वन्तर (different Manu-ages) and वंशानुचरित (detailed histories of some of the prominent royal dynasties of ancient India). This is only an ideal description, but all the Purāṇas do not conform to it. It is only in some of the major ones that all these characteristics attain their full scope and significance.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a noble scion of the deservedly reputed Yādava dynasty. His divine qualities apart, He was, even as a great historical figure, noble embodiment of all the great qualities of head and heart. He was a towering genius of His age, who, endowed with a magnetic personality, outshone every rival if any, and commanded profound respect and admiration from all, the high and low, from everyone who happened to come into his contact. Viewed even in an historical perspective, Śrī Kṛṣṇa deserves ample treatment at the hands of the writer of the Purāṇas. But He was more than that. He is the highest incarnation of the great Viṣṇu descended for the destruction of the wicked and the protection of righteous. Hence, it is but natural to suppose that the Purāṇas will accord Him ample scope for a detailed description of a variety of His divinely sweet Līlās. And this they have done. Out of the complete list of the 18 Purāṇas, about two-third deal more or less with the life and deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Purāṇic narration of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's Līlās has

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1. The classical definition of the Purāṇa, as found in most of the Purāṇas, is given in the following well-known verse :–

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

Agni I. 14; Kūrma I. 1.12; Garuḍa I. 125. 14; Viṣṇu III. 6.25; Mārkaṇḍeya 134. 13. A slightly different definition is given in the Kāvya Mīmāṁsā in the following verse where Kalpa has been mentioned as one of the principal subjects of the purāṇas :–

सर्गः प्रतिसंहारः कल्पो मन्वन्तराणि वंशविधिः ।
जगतो यत्र निबद्धं तद् विज्ञेयं पुराणमिति ॥

followed two different methods. In some they are treated only incidentally, along with the description of the kings of the ancient Kṣatriya dynasties; while in others special sections or books have been devoted to a lengthy and appropriate description of those important incidents. The Purāṇas of the first type are : Garuḍa (I. 149), Kūrma (I. 24-26), Vāyu (96), Nārada (II. 81), and Devī-Bhāgavata (IV. 20-26 and IX), which cantain useful information about Rādhā along with the other manifestations of Śakti. The Purāṇas of the second type are about six, all of which have been analysed and described here. They are Agni, Brahma, Padma Brahmavaivarta, Viṣṇu and Śṛimad Bhāgavata. Out of these, the Agni-Purāṇa has got only a short chapter, while the Brahma and Padma Purāṇas have devoted several Adhyāyas to this subject. The last three have devoted whole sections and books to the description of Kṛṣṇa-Carita and should be considered on that score to be the most important and comprehensive store-house of all the available informations collected in these ancient works touching upon the manysided personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and upon His divine Līlās. We shall present below only a short account of those Adhyāyas and books of the above-mentioned Purāṇas in which Kṛṣṇa-Carita has been dealt with.

Agni-Purāṇa

As it stands, it presents an excellent epitome of all available and useful information about the different branches of learning and sciences. Hence its very nature forbids its attempting a lengthy treatment of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. It has devoted a single adhyāya, viz. the 18th, consisting of only 56 short anuṣṭup verses, and thus catalogues only the important events connected with the life and work of Śri Kṛṣṇa.

Brahma-Purāṇa

It contains 33 Adhyāyas (180-212) on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Both the Līlās–those of Vṛndāvana and of Dvārkā–have been presented here in a concise form. Here are to be found all the important Vṛndāvana-Līlās which we have come to associate with the name of that Divine Cowherd. The 189th Adhyāya gives a fine description of Rāsa-Līlā, where we find veritable echoes of some of the charming verses of Śrimad Bhāgavata. The Gopīs' lament at the sudden departure of Śrī Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā at the

instance of Akrūra is profoundly touching and truly heart-rending. But a thorough comparision of these Adhyāyas with those in the fifth Aṁśa (book) of the Viṣṇu-Puṛāṇa reveals the fact that they contain a nicely made epitome of the latter. Here we find that two or three Adhyāyas have been condensed into one by the omission of a large number of verses not considered essential for following the thread of the narrative. For want of space we are compelled to omit a detailed comparision and analysis of these chapters here, but wish to stress the point that these chapters of the Brahma Purāṇa are totally based upon those of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as is evident not only from the similarity of ideas but also from the identity of their construction and phraseology. In fact, they present a judicious selection of the verses of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa with the obvious purpose of giving, in a nutshell, the chief events of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life.

Padma-Purāṇa

It is one of the most important among the major Purāṇas. In point of extent and volume it is second only to the great Skanda-Purāṇa, which is easily the most voluminous among the Purāṇas. The text of the Purāṇa as published from the Ānandāśrama. Poona, contains six Khaṇḍas or books. They are Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma, Pātāla, Sṛṣṭi and Uttara-Khaṇḍas. Out of these, two books devote special Adhyāyās to the elucidation of many important topics of Vaiṣṇava theology as well as a concise treatment of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. A critical study of this Purāṇa is essential for understanding the theological basis of the various schools of medieval Vaiṣṇavism, especially of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. In fact, its greatest value lies in its being thoroughly imbued with the Vaiṣṇava spirit. In Consonance with its true nature we find special items of purely Vaiṣṇava faith properly handled and popularily treated therein. Thus in the 50th adhyāya of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa is described the Māhātmya of Gopī-candana; the 83rd and 84th Adhyāyas give a popular description of a typical Vaiṣṇava; the 85th Adhyāya describes, wih the proper mantras for recitation, the festival called Dolotsava, which is to be celebrated on the Ekādaśī day of the bright half of the Caitra month. It is the Padma-Purāṇa that contains that celebrate Māhātmya of Śrīmad Bhāgavata in Adhyāyas 189 to 194, illustrated with the aid of the well-known anecdote of Dhundhukārī, who attained his final liberation as a direct result of the hearing of Śrīmad Bhāgavata for seven days only.

So much for the Vaiṣṇava element in this Purāṇa. Now coming to the treatment of the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, we find it described twice, one in the Pātāla-Khaṇḍ a and then in the Uttara-Khaṇḍa. In the second, there are eight chapters devoted to it from the 272nd to the 279th. Here the very first Adhyāya consists of a highly philosophical praise uttered by Indra to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in which the whole of the celebrated Hiraṇyagarbha-Sūkta has been incorporated, of course, with the necessary linguistic and metrical changes–due to its adoption in a Purāṇic text. The great value of this Stotra lies in presenting a Purāṇic interpretation of a Vedic Sūkta. Another peculiarity of this section lies in the fact that a large portion of the 277th and the 279th Adhyāyas is written in a clear and chaste prose of the well-known Purāṇic type.

The other section occurs in the Pātāla-Khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa and is of extreme value for properly understanding the theological and philosophical conceptions of the medieval Vaiṣṇava sects. This section consists of eight chapters and extends from the 69th Adhyāya to the 77th. The 69th Adhyāya furnishes a highly elaborate and allegorical conception of Vṛndāvana, which is taken to represent upon the surface of this earth that ideal Vṛndāvana– Nitya Vṛndāvana as it is termed–the highest abode of Bhagavān situated even above the far-elevated Vaikuṇṭha.* The city of Mathurā is represented as a lotus of a thousand petals and with strict accuracy the complete circle is divided and sub-divided into, different parts each of which has been described with its presiding deity. The present Vṛndāvana has also been similarly represented in the Brahma-Saṃhitā, one of the famous scriptures of the Pāñcarātra school. The rest of the section has been devoted to the elucidation of the real nature of Rādhā and Her companions–their names, their mystical significance, their relative importance and relation with Śri Kṛṣṇa in the Rāsa-Līlā, etc. Scholars know that Rādhā, who plays such an important role in the growth of the later Vaiṣṇavism, is conspicuous by Her absence from the pages of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, but it is in

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* सात्वतां स्थानमूर्धन्यं विष्णोरत्यन्तदुर्लभम् ।
नित्यं वृन्दावनं नाम ब्रह्माण्डोपरि संस्थितम् ॥
पूर्णं ब्रह्मसुखैश्वर्यं नित्यमानन्दमव्ययम् ।
वैकुण्ठादि तदंशांशं स्वयं वृन्दावनं भुवि ॥

–Padma, Pātāla section 69 Adhyāya.

the Padma as well as in the Brahmavaivarta that we meet with the complete paraphernalia of the Rādhā-cult. Hence the extreme importance of the Padma-Purāṇa in the history and growth of Vaiṣṇavism is quite evident.

The Brahmavaivarta-Purāna

It is one of the most celebrated Purāṇas containing a detailed description and popular presentation of the charming Līlās of Srī Kṛṣṇacandra. The Purāṇa as it goes has 4 large sections or Khaṇḍas–viz., (1) Brahma-Khaṇḍa, (2) Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa (3) Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa and (4) Kṛṣṇa-Janma-Khaṇḍa. The last book contains about 129 chapters and thus presents an elaborate and comprehensive account of the great deeds performed by Srī Kṛṣṇa either at Vṛndāvana or at Mathurā and Dvārakā. But the great merit of this Purāṇa lies in its attaching greater importance to the Rādhā element in the Kṛṣṇa-worship. And hence naturally the Vṛndāvana-Līlās have received an elaborate treatment at the hands of the writer, and the figure of Rādhā as painted there emerges out of her hazy associations and vague surroundings into a living figure of Great personal and supreme spiritual charm. In reality the Brahmavaivarta completes the divine picture of Rāḍhā as portrayed by the cognate Padma-Purāṇa and the two together stand out as the most authoritative texts upon the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with a special leaning towards the Rādhā element therein. Suffice it to say that the later Vaiṣṇava theologians have amply drawn for their materials upon these sections of the Padma and The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas.

The Visnu-Purāṇa

For the study of the philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism this Purāṇa along with Śrīmad Bhāgavata occupies an extremely important place. Though not much in extent and volume (it contains only 126 Adhyāyas, and is thus only one-third of the Bhāgavata), it has supplied the most important materials for the philosophical superstructure of Śrī vaiṣṇavism. The fact is not unknown to scholars that the great Rāmānujācārya has drawn copiously upon this Purāṇa for the sake of making his philosophical theories tally with the Purāṇic conceptions. Hence the importance of this Purāṇa for a study of the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has been divided into six sections or books styled as Aṃśas. The fifth book is entirely devoted to a description of Śri Kṛṣṇa's life. All the important Līlās of Śrī Kṛṣṇa have been presented here in an excellent literary form. The same old and familiar Anuṣṭup is there; but it does not possess that looseness of construction frequently met with in the other Purāṇas, but has got a peculiarly chaste literary ring about it. The writer has done full justice to the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra by his impartiality for all Līlās; he has followed the golden mean by allowing the important events of both the portions of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life in equal scope for their presentation. Thus, the 38 Adhyāyas of this book are of paramount importance for presenting a complete picture of the life of a very busy individual. The mystical Rāsa-Līlā has been described in a particularly charming manner but it is important to note that like the Bhāgavata even here the name of Rādhā is conspicuous by its absence

Śrīmadbhāgavata-Puraṇa.

On the life of Śri Kṛṣṇa, and for a complete description of His divinely charming Līlās, there is no higher authority than the Bhāgavata. Though the other incarnations have also been treated here, Śri Kṛṣṇa's Līlās are, in fact, the main theme of this Purāṇa. In print of literary charm and philosophical subtlety, it is indeed equalled by no other Purāṇa. The supreme importance of the Bhāgavata can also be gauged by the host of commentaries and glosses written by those learned scholars of ancient times who are reckoned by later generations to be the highest authorities on such subjects. The language has got a supreme beauty of its own, and, though at times a bit archaic and hence somewhat difficult, it possesses a uniform dignity of expression, rarely to be met with in the other compositions of the same type. The old critical statement 'विद्यावतां भागवते परीक्षा' has a large element of truth in it, since it is no exaggeration to say that the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa is a veritable touchstone of Shastraic knowledge.

Out of the twelve books or Skandhas as they are called the tenth deals entirely with the Līlās of Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This Skandha is not only the longest of all, but covers about one-fourth of the whole of the Bhāgavata.It is divided into two parts, the first part, containing 49 Adhyāyas, taken up entirely with those Līlās of Śri Kṛṣṇa which centred round Vṛndāvana and Mathurā; while the second part, consisting of 41

Adhyāyas, deals with the incidents of Śri Kṛṣṇa's later life connected with Dvārakā and thus in these 90 Adhyāyas we possess information about Śrī Kṛṣṇa in greater detail than in any of the Purāṇs. Despite its possessing a few more Adhyāyas, the Brahmavaivarta cannot surpass the depth and that literary charm which are deservedly associated with the name of the latter Purāṇa. Space forbids us to enter into a detailed analysis of the tenth book; but we cannot close these notes without remarking that, as the tenth is considered to be the quintessence of the whole of the Bhāgavata, so the five Adhyāyas (29-33) descriptive of that divinely inspired Rāsa-Līlā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa are rightly reckoned as the very quintessence of the whole of the tenth Skandha. The fact is that the Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī of Śrīmad Bhāgavata is a literature by itself, so charming in expression, so deep and subtle in its philosophical contents, so mystical and divine in its entirety that the like of it cannot be found anywhere in the whole range of the vast Sanskrit literature. Another peculiar feature of this book is its abounding in a number of delicious songs mostly sung by the Gopīs on different occasions, the sweetest of the lot being the celebrated Gopī-gīta in the 31st Adhyāya and the most philosophical and the subtlest being the Śruti-Gīta in the 87th Adhyāya. The presentation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's Līlās on the whole is, at once simple and charming. Rightly is Samādhi-bhāṣā of Vyāsa considered the most important of the authorities in the Vaiṣṇava sects founded by Śrī Caitanya and Vallabhācārya.*

Conclusion

This humble attempt on the part of the writer will no doubt disclose the fact that there are, due to the emphasis laid upon these aspects, two lines of approach to the chequered history of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as found in those major Purāṇas that devote special books or sections to the proper delineation and subtle analysis of one of the most important, though highly complex, personalities of ancient times. One is in main *theological;* where the author has taken great pains to explain in a lucid way the spiritual meaning underlying incidents and the deep allegory concerning the life history of Śrī Kṛṣṇa–His present environments, His companions and friends, etc, especially belonging to His earlier life at Vṛndāvana and

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* वेदः श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव हि ।
समाधिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम् ॥

Gokula. This is the main point in the Kṛṣṇa sections of the Padma and Bṛahmavaivarta Purāṇas, which have been naturally utilized in such Pāñcarātra works as Bṛhad Brahmasaṁhitā and others and have also been extensively drawn upon for laying the theological foundations of the medieval Vaiṣṇava schools with a leaning towards the Rādhā element in kṛṣṇa-worship. The other line of approach is chiefly *philosophical*, where the other elements have been subordinated to stress the philosophical aspects of Śri Kṛṣṇa and His worship. This is virtually presented in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, where the divine aspects of Śrī Kṛṣṇa have been amply brought out in all their subtle beauty and sublime charm. But even here we realize a fine shade of difference in the indebtedness of the later Vaiṣṇava sects to these ancient store-houses of Vaiṣṇava faith and culture. Śri-Vaiṣṇavism with its preference for the worship of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is more indebted to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa for its philosophic contents than to others and hence Ācārya Rāmānuja shows a considerable partiality for this Purāṇa in the copious extract he has made in support of his philosophical position. On the other hand, Śrīmad Bhāgavata is the mainstay and the supreme authority with those Vaiṣṇva cults which show a preference for the worship of Rāḍhā-Kṛṣṇa. And hence it is no wonder that it is the most important scripture of the Caitanya and Vallabha sects of Vaiṣṇavism and naturally it has been accorded there an equal. if not a greater, authority with the well-known Prasthānatraya represented by that spiritual trio, the Vedas, the Brahma-Sūtras and the Bhagavadgītā. If the one school extols the Bhāgavata to be the spotless authority' (श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रमाणमंगलम्) the other is not far behind it in showering eulogies upon it and in claiming it to be the समाधि-भाषा of Vedavyāsa. In fact, these schools have their life and being in the supremely spiritual atmosphere created for the benefit and the amelioration of the teeming millions with its emphasis upon gaining the Divine Grace through devotion which the Purāṇa inculcates to be the only panacea for all human ills.*

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* न दानं न तपो नेज्या न शौचं न व्रतानि च ।
प्रीयतेऽमलया भक्त्या हरिरन्यद् विडम्बनम् ॥

Śrimadbhāavata

LOCATION OF THE NAIMISA FOREST*

BY

V.V MRASHI

[प्रस्तुतलेखे नैमिषारण्यस्यावस्थितिविषये संक्षिप्तः परिचय उपवर्णितोऽस्ति, तस्य स्थितिविषये नैकविधानिं मतान्युदाहृतानि समालोचितानि च । वेदेतिहासपुराणादिषूपलभ्यमाना निर्देशा अपि विवेचनपुरःसरं समाहृताः, आधुनिका विचारा अपि विचारार्थं प्रस्तुताः । नैमिषारण्यस्यावस्थानं क्वचिदुत्तरप्रदेशे सुलतानपुरमण्डलान्तर्गतमेव लेखकमहोदयैः निश्चीयते । अत्र विशेषतः रामायणे (उत्तरकाण्डे) निर्दिष्टः श्रीरामकृतोऽश्वमेधयज्ञः, तद्वर्णनपरं धीरनागविरचितं कुन्दमालानामकं नाटकं प्रमाणत्वेन गृहीतं वर्तते । तत्साक्ष्याधारेण वाल्मीकेराश्रमादनतिदूरे नैमिषं भवितुमर्हति । आश्रमश्च दक्षिणतमसागङ्गासंगमपार्श्वे स्थित आसीत् । तत उत्तरस्यां दिशि अयोध्यातश्च दक्षिणाभिमुखे क्वचित् विंशतिक्रोशाभ्यन्तरे सम्भाव्यते । तेन निंमिसरनाम्ना प्रसिद्धं स्थानं तु न साम्यमर्हति अतिदूरस्थत्वादाश्रमतः । महाभारतेऽपि (अरण्य ८५, २-५, ९३, १) पाण्डवाः काम्यकवनात् (कामन) पूर्वदिशि गच्छन्ता न तूत्तरदिशि यत्र निंमिसरस्थानं मध्ये समापतेत् । क्रमश्च तत्र नैमिषं, प्रयागः, गया इति भवति । तथा हि गयासमीपे पूर्वस्यामेव कुत्रचित् नैमिषारण्यं भवितुं शक्यते । अतः सुल्तानपुरक्षेत्र एव तस्य स्थितिः सम्भाव्यत इति निबन्धकृतां मतम् ।]

Several references to the Naimiṣa forest occur in the Vedic works, the Epics and the Purānas. In the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* of the Black Yajurveda (X, 6) we read 'Naimiṣyā vai sattram-āsata' (the resident of Naimiṣa performed a sacrifice). The people of this forest called Naimiṣīya or Naimiṣya are also mentioned in the *pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (25, 6, 4) and the Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa (26, 5). The Śaṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa mentions a great sacrifice performed in the Naimiṣa forest. The last recension of the Mahābharata was compiled in the Naimiṣāraṇya.

लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सौतिः पौराणिको नैमिषारण्ये शौनकस्य कुलपतेर्द्वादशवार्षिके सत्रे–

सुखासीनानभ्यगच्छद्ब्रह्मर्षीन् संशितव्रतान् ।
विनयावनतो भूत्वा कदाचित् सूतनन्दनः ॥

* Purāṇa, Vol. X, No. 1 (January 1968) pp. 27-34

तमाश्रममनुप्राप्तं नैमिषारण्यवसिनाम् ।
चित्राः श्रोतुं कथास्तत्र परिबब्रुस्तपस्विनः ॥

The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma was performed in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī.

स तेषां द्विजमुख्यानां वाक्यमद्भुतदर्शनम् ।
अश्वमेधाश्रितं श्रुत्वा भृशं प्रीतोऽभवत्तदा ॥
विज्ञाय कर्म तत्तेषां रामो लक्षणमब्रवीत् ।
× × ×
तथैव तालावचनास्तथैव नटनर्त्तकाः ।
यज्ञवाटश्च सुमहान् गोमत्या नैमिषे वने ॥[1]

There are numerous references to the Naimiṣa forest in the Purāṇas, which describe how Sūta narrated various legends to Śaunaka in that forest. Nārada is said to have been honoured by the sages when he visited the Naimiṣāraṇya.[2] The Padmapurāṇa mentions the twelve-year sacrifice which was performed in the Naimiṣa forest.[3]

The Naimiṣa was also regarded as sacred region. The Mahābhārata states that it contained several *tīrthas* or holy places.[4] The name of the forest is said to have been derived from the fact that the nemi (circumference) of the *dharmachakra* was shattered there. This is, of course, a fanciful derivation.

Though there are thus numerous references to the Naimiṣāraṇya there are very few which state its location. We have seen above that the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that it was situated on the Gomatī. This is also supported by the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (I,2, 9). The *Vāyupurāṇa* (1, 14-15), however, states that the great *sattra* of the sages of the Naimisāraṇya was in Kurukṣetra on the Dṛiṣadvatī. The same Purāṇa, however, states elsewhere,[5] that it was on the Gomatī. Dr. Kane tries to reconcile the two varying statements by supposing that Gomatī is only an adjective.[6] He means by this that the *Sattra* was really performed on the Dṛiṣadvatī, but the river is called Gomatī because it abounded in cows. This is hardly

1. Rāmāyaṇa (N. S. P. ed.), Uttarakāṇḍa 91, 8-9, 15.
2. *Padmapurāṇa* Uttarakhaṇḍa, 77-78.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, 219, 1-12.
4. *Āraṇyakaparvan* (Cr. ed.), 3,3.
5. Vāyupurāṇa, 2, 9.
6. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 783 (List of Tirthas).

convincing and is opposed to the clear statements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa cited above.

The Naimiṣāraṇya is identified with Nimsar on the Gomatī, a railway station of that name on the North-eastern Railway, 20 miles from Sītāpur and 45 miles north-east of Lucknow.[7] The similarity in the two place-names lends colour to the identification. Besides, this place is situated on the Gomati as stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some Purāṇas. So this identification is generally accepted.

There are, however, some considerations which throw doubt on this identification. In the *Mahābhārata*, Āraṇyakaparvan (85-2-5) Dhaumya mentions it to Yudhiṣṭhira, while enumerating the tīrthas in the eastern direction[8] :–

पूर्वं प्राचीं दिशं राजन् राजर्षिगणसेविताम् ।
रम्यां ते कथयिष्यामि युधिष्ठिर यथास्मृति ॥
तस्या देवर्षिजुष्टायां नैमिषं नाम भारत ।
यत्र तीर्थानि देवानां सुपुण्यानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥
यत्र सा गोमती पुण्या रम्या देवर्षिसेविता ।
यज्ञभूमिश्च देवानां शामित्रं च विवस्वतः ॥

Dhaumya says further that in the same direction there lies the holy tīrtha Gayā which he describes as follows[9] :–

तस्यां गिरिवरः पुण्यो गयो राजर्षिसत्कृतः ।
शिवं ब्रह्मसरो यत्र सेवितं त्रिदशर्षिभिः ॥
महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गयशिरोऽनघ ।
यत्रासौ कीर्त्यते विप्रैरक्षय्यकरणो वटः ॥
यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षय्यं भवति प्रभो ॥
सा च पुण्यजला यत्र फल्गुनामा महानदी ।
बहूमूलफला चापि कौशिकी भरतर्षभ ॥
विश्वामित्रोऽभ्यगाद्यत्र ब्राह्मणत्वं तपोधनः ।

In this passage Dhaumya mentions the holy hill called Gayā, the place called Gayaśiras, where offerings made to the *pitṛis* become

7. Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 135.

8. Āraṇyakaparvan 85, 3-5.

9. Loc. cit., 6.9

inexaustible, the great and holy river Phalgu and the akṣaya-vaṭa, which leave no dubt that the holy tīrtha Gayā is meant. The Naimiṣa forest was thus situated in the east and lay not very far from Gayā.

This situation of Naimiṣāraṇya is also supported by another passage of the Great Epic. In the Āraṇyakaparva, 93, 1 f. the *tīrtha-yātrā* of the Pāṇḍavas is described. During their exile they were living first in the Kāmyaka-vana. The epic describes this place as situated on the Sarasvatī in the Maru country.[10] Cunningham identified Kāmyaka with Kāmoda near Kurukṣetra. But it is more likely to be modern Kāman, the headquarters of tahsil of the same name in the former State of Bharatpur. I have shown that its ancient name Kāmyaka occurs in a stone inscription of the 10th century A.D., whcih I have edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*.[11] From the Kāmyakavana the Pāṇḍavas proceeded in the east and reached the Naimiṣāraṇya in due course :

ते तथा सहिता वीरा न्यसन्तस्तत्र ह ।
क्रमेण पृथिवीपाल नैमिषारण्यमागताः ॥
ततस्तीर्थेषु पुण्येषु गोमत्याः पाण्डवा नृप ।
कृताभिषेकाः प्रददुगाश्च वित्तं च भारत ॥
तेन देवान् पितॄन्विप्रांस्तर्पयित्वा पुनः पुनः ।
कन्यातीर्थेऽश्वतीर्थे च गवां तीर्थे च कौरवाः ॥
बालकोट्यां वृषप्रस्थे गिरावुष्य च पाण्डवाः ।
बाहुदायां महीपाल चक्रुः सर्वेऽभिषेचनम् ॥
प्रयागे देवयजने देवानां पृथिवीपते ।
ऊषुराप्लुत्य गात्राणि तपश्चातस्थुरुत्तमम् ॥
गङ्गायमुनयोश्चैव संगमे सत्यसङ्गराः ।
विपाप्मानो महात्मानो विप्रेभ्यः प्रददुर्वसु ॥
तपस्विजनजुष्टां च ततो वेदीं प्रजापतेः ।
जग्मुः पाण्डुसुता राजन् ब्राह्मणैः सह भारत ॥
तत्र ते न्यवसन् वीरास्तपश्चातस्थुरुत्तमम् ।
सन्तर्पयन्तः सततं वन्येन हविषा द्विजान् ।
ततो महीधरं जग्मुर्धर्मज्ञेनाभिसत्कृतम् ।
राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्युते ॥

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10. *Āraṇyakaparvan*, 6.3–
ततः सरस्वतीकूले समेषु मरुधन्वसु ।
काम्यकं नाम वनं ददृशुर्मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥

11. Ep. Ind. XXIV. p. 335.

सरो गयाशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी ।
महर्षिजुष्टं सुपुण्यं ततीर्थं ब्रह्मसरोत्तमम् ॥

This passage describes in order the Naimiṣāraṇya, Prayāga and Gayā. This shows that the Naimiṣāraṇya was situated in the same direction as and not very far from Prayāga and Gayā.

Neither of these two passages from the *Mahābhārata* would suit the identification of the Naimiṣāraṇya with Nimsar, which lies 45 miles north-west of Lucknow; for it is not in the vicinity of Prayāga and Gayā. Besides, if the Pāṇḍavas had to reach Nimsar from their habitation in the Kāmyakavana (modern Kāman), they would have proceeded to the north and not to the east as stated in the *Mahābhārata*. The Naimiṣāraṇya cannot, therefore, be located near Nimsar, notwithstanding the similarity in the two place-names.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa (canto 92 f.) tells us that Rāma performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the Naimiṣāraṇya. He asked Lakṣamaṇa to invite Sugrīva and other princes for the sacrifice and to put up a large number of tents in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī for their reception. At his invitation the sage Vālmīki also came to the Naimiṣārāṇya to attend the sacrifice, accompanied by his disciples including Kuśa and Lava. A few huts were put up in a part of the forest for their residence.[12]

नैमिषे वसतस्तस्य सर्व एव नराधिपाः ।
आनिन्युरुपहारांश्च तान् रामः प्रत्यपूजयत् ॥

× × ×

उपकार्या महार्हाश्च पार्थिवानां महात्मनाम् ।
सानुगानां नरश्रेष्ठो व्यादिदेश महाबलः ॥

× × ×

वर्त्तमाने तथाभूते यज्ञे च परमाद्भुते ।
सशिष्य आजगामाशु वाल्मीकिर्भगवानृषिः ॥
स दृष्ट्वा दिव्यसंकाशं यज्ञमद्भुतदर्शनम् ।
एकान्त ऋषिसंघातश्चकार उटजाञ्शुभान् ॥

This description of the Aśvamedha in the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows that it was performed in a place not very far from both Ayodhyā and the hermitage of Vālmīki. This is also corroborated by the description in the Kundamālā a Sanskrit play of Dhīranāga, who probably flourished in the 9th or 10th

12. Uttarakāṇḍa, 92, 4, 8; 93, 1-2.

century A.D. We are told in the second Act of this play that a messenger of Rāma had come to the hermitage of Vālmīki. It was therefore announced that the great sacrifice Aśvamedha was going to be performed (in the Naimiṣa forest) *not far from that place* (i.e. the hermitage of Vālmīki). All were therefore asked to repair to the sacrificial place without delay.[13]

(नेपथ्ये)

भो भो आश्रमवासिनो जनाः । शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः- इतो नातिदूरं महाक्रतुरश्वमेधः प्रवर्त्तते संभृतानि यज्ञोपकरणानि सन्निपातिताश्च नानादेशाश्रमवासिनो वसिष्ठात्रेयप्रभृतयो महामुनयः । केवलं भगवतो वाल्मीकेरागमनमुदीक्षमाणो नायापि प्रविशति महाराजः । आगतश्च वाल्मीकितपोवनवासिनामुपनिमन्त्रणार्थं रामदूतः । तस्मान्नैव परिलम्बितव्यम् । तीर्थोदकानि, समिधः, परिपूर्णरूपान् दर्भाङ्कुरानविहतान् परिगृह्य सद्यः अग्रे भवन्तु मुनयो मुनिकन्यकाश्च कुर्वन्तु मङ्गलवलीनुटजाङ्गनेषु ॥

In the next (III) Act we learn that the delicate Sītā had reached by eveing the site of the sacrifice together with her young sons Kuśa and Lava.[14] We are not told how many days it took them to reach the place of the sacrifice, but from the trend of the description they could not have been many. In a verse of the fourth Act we are told that the kings of the Ikṣvāku family retire to the Naimiṣa forest in the evening of their life after entrusting the cares of the family to their sons.[15] From all these descriptions it seems clear that the Naimiṣa forest lay not very for from both Ayodhyā and the Hermitage of Vālmīki.

But where was the hermitage of Vālmīki ? It is usually located at Biṭhur, 14 miles from Cawnpur,[16] but I have shown elsewhere that this location is not correct.[17] According to the Rāmāyaṇa (1.2, 3), it was situated on the bank of the Tamasā and lay not far from the Gaṅgā.[18] There are two rivers of the name Tamasā flowing in the Uttar-Pradesh,

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13. Kundamālā (ed. by K. K. Dutta), p. 32.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
15. See

आनाकमेकधनुषा भुवनं विजित्य
पुण्यैर्दिवः क्रतुशतैर्विरचय्य मार्गम् ।
इक्ष्वाकवः सुतनिवेशितराज्यभारा
निःश्रेयसाय वनमेतदुपाश्रयन्तः ॥ Kundamālā IV. 5.

16. Nundo Lal Dey, The *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 20.
17. See my article on this in studies in Indology, Vol. 1. (second ed.).
18. See

स मुहूर्तं गते तस्मिन्देवलोकं मुनिस्तदा ।
जगाम तमसातीरं जाह्नव्यास्त्वविदूरतः ।
Rāmāyaṇa 1.2.3

one of which joins the Gaṅgā from the north and the other from the south. I have shown elsewhere[19] in detail that the Tamasā on which Vālmīki's hermitage was situated is the southern Tamasā, now called Tons, which rises in the former Mahiyar State, on the south of Nagaudh and runnig through the north part of Rewal: flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahabad.[20] The site of the hermitage of Vālmīki was near the confluence of this Tamasā and the Gaṅgā. The Naimiṣāraṇya, where the Aśvamedha sacrifice was being performed, may have been situated almost due north of this place on the bank of the Gomatī, which flows about 60 miles on the north as the crow flies. This forest was probably included in the modern Sultanpur district. Its distance from Ayodhyā may have been about 40 miles. If the Naimiṣāraṇya is identified with Nimsar, 40 miles northwest of Lucknow, its distance from the hermitage of Vālmīki would be more than 160 miles as the crow flies. Such a long distance is not in consonance with the description in the Epics and the Kundamālā as shown above.

As the Naīmiṣāraṇya was about 40 miles from Ayodhyā it is not unlikely that the kings of Ayodhyā retired to it in the last period of their life and Rāma performed his Aśvamedha sacrifice there. There is, of course, now no place in this district known to me, the name of which bears resemblance to Naimiṣāraṇya. This is not surprising in view of the long period of time which separates the Vedic and Epic periods from the modern age.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that the Naimiṣārāṇya was not identical with modern Nimisar, 45 miles northwest from Lucknow, but was probably situated on the Gomatī somewhere in the Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh.[21]

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19. Studies in Indology, Vo. I (Second ed).
20. Fleet, C.I.I, Vol. III., p. 126.
21. After this article was sent for publication, Shri A.S. Gupta has kindly informed me that the two sacrifices mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* were not identical. The Sacrifice performed in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī (referred to in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, II, 7 f.) belonged to the reign of Purūravas, at which Vayu was the speaker, while that performed on the Dṛṣdvatī (not in the Naimṣa forest) (referred to in the *Vāyupurāṇa* 1, 14-15) was in the time of king Asīma Kṛṣṇa and there Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa was the speaker. This has removed the discrepancy pointed out by Dr. Kane and further strengthend the identification suggested in the present article.

GENEALOGY OF THE SOLAR DYNASTY IN THE PURĀṆAS AND THE RĀMĀYAṆA : A CRITICAL STUDY*†

BY

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[लेखेऽस्मिन् डा. पुसाळकरमहोदयेन रामायणे पुराणेषु चोपवर्णितस्य सूर्यवंशस्य विषये आलोचनात्मको विचारः प्रस्तुतः । सूर्यवंशस्य प्रवर्त्तको वैवस्वतमनोः पुत्र इक्ष्वाकुरासीत् । पुराणेषु सूर्यवंशस्य वर्णनमितरवंशापेक्षया विस्तृततरं वर्त्तते । रामायणे तु रामपर्यन्तमेव सूर्यवंशावली कथिता । अतोऽस्मिंल्लेखे सूर्यवंशविषयको विचारो रामपर्यन्तमेव प्रस्तूयते । पुराणेषूपवर्णितायाः सूर्यवंशावल्याः पार्जिटर-रंगाचार्य-मनकड-भार्गवोपाह्वैर्विद्वद्भिः सम्यग्विचारः कृतः, अत्र तु लेखकमहोदयेन मूलग्रन्थानां सम्यगवलोकनानन्तरं सूर्यवंशसूचीविषये स्वमतमुपस्थापितं लेखस्यान्ते च सूर्यवंशावली-विषयिका स्वनिर्मिता एका सूच्यपि संयोजिता ।

महाभारते, हरिवंशे, पुराणेषु च सूर्यवंशसूचीविषये प्रायः सादृश्यं वर्त्तते, परन्तु रामायणे सूचीयमतीव संक्षिप्ता वर्त्तते । अत्र इक्ष्वाकुवंशीयानां केषांचिन्नृपाणां नामान्यपि पुराणकथितनामभ्यो भिद्यन्ते क्रमोऽपि क्वचिद् भिद्यते । पुराणोक्तासु सूर्यवंशीयसूचीषु मनुमारभ्य रामपर्यन्तं नृपाणां न्यूनतमा संख्या सप्तपञ्चाशत्, रामायणे तु पञ्चत्रिंशदेव । परन्तु रामायणं तु वस्तुतः काव्यमेव, नत्वितिहासः, पुराणानां च राजवंशवर्णनं प्रधानं लक्षणम् । अतः इतिहासदृष्ट्या रामायणसूची नातीवोपयुक्ता । कालिदासेनापि रघुवंशकाव्ये इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवानां नृपाणां चरितवर्णने तु रामायणमाश्रितम्, परन्तु सूर्यवंशावलीवर्णने पुराणान्येवाश्रितानि]

The dynasty started by Ikshvāku, son of Vaivasvata Manu, was known as the solar dynasty, and it produced such celebrated figures as Kakutstha, Māndhātṛi, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīsha, Raghu, Rāma and others. The importance of the dynasty in traditional history can also be seen from the fact that the genealogical list of this dynasty in the Purāṇas is more detailed and

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†. Purāṇa, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January. 1962) pp. 23-33

complete as compared with the lists of other dynasties. The genealogy of the solar dynasty (either whole or in part) appears in as many as eleven Mahā-Purāṇas, the *Saura* and the *Siva* Upa-Purāṇas, the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As the genealogy given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* runs only up to Rāma, we shall consider here the solar dynasty up to Rāma only.

The genealogy of the solar dynasty, as given in the Purāṇas, has been considered, more or less fully, by Pargiter, Rangacharya, Mankad and Bhargava. After going through these learned treatises, I made my own study on the basis of the original texts and have prepared my own list. A comparative study of the lists in the Purāṇas, the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Mahābhārata* (so far as they go) shows that they are in general agreement on the whole. The *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy, however, is much shorter, contains several omissions with considerable differences regarding names and order of the persons, and has a number of new names. The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the genealogy at two places, which is almost identical.

In dealing with the Purāṇa lists it is to be borne in mind that it is not always correct to regard as genuine or nearer the original the list that contains a smaller number. In the first place, it is likely that the particular text is deficient and has lost the portion containing the missing names. It is well known that in course of transmission some Purāṇas have lost original parts. Secondly, some Purāṇas definitely state that with regard to particular lists, they have not given them exhaustively but have listed only the important names. Thus, the *Matsya*, which lists only important names, omits as many as twelve names, so that we cannot rule out as later interpolation the names uniformly found in the other Purāṇas, especially if they are corroborated by other sources. It is, therefore, not safe either to regard the smaller number in any particular Purāṇa as indicative of genuineness or larger number of later interpolations. Further, we cannot always rely on the view of the majority of the Purāṇas, because in some case it is possible that some of the Purāṇas are mere copies of the relevant parts from the other Purāṇas. Every case is to be considered on its merits. It is again to be noted that a particular Purāṇa, found to be trustworthy regarding a particular dynasty, may not be equally trustworthy with regard to other dynasties. Even in the portion dealing with a particular dynasty there may be found corrupt or interpolated passages. It is, therefore, necessary that every stanza or every line must be considered

independently on the basis of the data furnished by all Purāṇas. In the accompanying table, I have given the Purāṇic lists according to Bhargava, Pargiter, Rangacharya, Mankad and myself, the last column being allotted to the *Rāmāyaṇa* list.

The Purāṇic lists show that the solar dynasty contained at least 57 names from Manu to Rāma. So far as the portions in the *Mahābhārata* are concerned, it is seen that they are in general agreement with the Purāṇas. The *Rāmāyaṇa,* however, springs a great surprise by presenting a much smaller number of kings in the dynasty, viz. 35. Thus our sources present two wholly divergent genealogies.

Before comparing the Purāṇic list with that in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* it may be observed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not a historical work, though it deals with history incidentally; it is a *kāvya.* It is not much concerned with genealogies. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, profess to give traditional history and genealogical lists, and hence *prima facie* have a superior claim to trustworthiness.

As compared to the Purāṇic list, the *Rāmāyaṇa* list has several omissions; the individuals occupy different positions; and there are several new names. It is found that such celebrated names from the Purāṇic list of solar dynasty as Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Rohita, Bhagīratha, Ṛituparṇa, Sudāsa, and Aśmaka, are conspicuous by their absence in the *Ṛāmāyaṇa* list. Now, the Purāṇas get confirmation from other authorities such as the *Rigveda* and later Vedic texts and the *Mahābhārata* with regard to the fact that all these kings belonged to the solar dynasty. Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Tridhanva, Trayyāruṇa, Hariśchandra and Rohita are well known to Vedic literature as belonging to the Ikshvāku (solar) dynasty. Ṛituparṇa occurs in the famous Nala story in the Great Epic. Though the second *Rāmāyaṇa* list admits the existence of Sudāsa by calling Kalmāshapāda "Saudāsa", the name Sudāsa is omitted in both lists and Kalmāshapāda is spoken of as the son of Raghu. The *Mahābhārata* declares Kalmāshapāda to be the son of Sudāsa, and mentions Aśmaka, omitted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* lists, as Kalmāshapāda's son. The well-known Hariśchandra story is given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a story of Ambarīsha, and though we can say that Ambarīsha may have been another name of Hariśchandra, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is wrong in stating Nahusha to be his son instead of Rohita. We must thus conclude that the Purāṇic lists, supported as they are by

independent texts, are correct, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* list is untrustworthy and defective as regards length. When considered as a whole, therefore, the *Rāmāyaṇa* list is open to grave doubt.

If we turn to details, it is found that there are considerable differences in the order of names in both sets of lists. Kakutstha, who appears as the son of Śaśāda and the third earliest king in the line in the Purāṇic list, appears quite late in the *Rāmāyaṇa* list as the son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa. The Purāṇas are corroborated by the *Mahābhārata*, which states that from Kakutstha's time the kings bore the title Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant. Ambarīsha, whom the *Rāmāyaṇa* places three steps above Nābhāga, was in reality the son of Nābhāga according to the Purāṇas supported by the *Mahābhārata*.

Though the *Rāmāyaṇa* list contains a smaller number, all the names cannot be taken to belong to the solar dynasty. The list wrongly includes Nahusha and Yayāti who were obviously rulers of the lunar dynasty. Some names are not found in the Purāṇas.

For the above reasons we conclude that the *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy of the solar dynasty is defective and unreliable. From the fact that for other particulars in his *Raghuvaṁśa* Kālidāsa draws on the *Rāmāyaṇa* but depends on other sources for his genealogy, it seems more likely that the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* used by Kālidāsa had no genealogies than that he preferred the Purāṇa lists to those in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In dealing with the unreliability of the *Rāmāyaṇa* list, Pargiter has, in some instances, referred to the *Raghuvaṁśa* in support of the Purāṇic statements; but the *Raghuvaṁśa* cannot be considered to be an independent authority in this connection.

The differences between the Purāṇic and *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogies are so obvious that it cannot be asserted that both are in general agreement. Dr. Daftary relies on the *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy of the solar dynasty in preference to the Purāṇic list possibly as the former contains fewer names. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* list also he omits as many as eleven names. Dr. Daftary's scheme of genealogical tables based on his study of the Purāṇic accounts would form the subject of an independent paper.

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Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (*A. D. Pusalker*)	Rāmāyaṇa
1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu
2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku
3. Vikukshi	3. Vikuksh-Śaśāda	3. Vikukshi (Śaśāda)	3. Vikushi-Śaśāda	3. Vikukshi	3. Kukshi
4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Vikukshi
5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Ancnas	5. Bāṇa
6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Anaraṇya
7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Pṛithu
8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Triśaṅku
9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Dhundhumāra
10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	
11. Bṛhadaśva	11. Bṛhadaśva	11. Bṛihadaśva	11. Bṛihadaśva	11. Bṛihadaśva	
12. Kuvalāśva	12. Kuvalāśva	12. Kuvalayāśva	12. Kuvalayāśva	12. Kuvalayāśva	

13. Dṛiḍḥāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāṣva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	
14. Pramoda	14. Pramoda	14. Pramoda		14. Pramoda	
15. Haryaśva I	15. Haryaśva I	15. Haryaśva I	14. Haryaśva I	15. Haryaśva I	
16. Nikumbha	16. Nikumbha	16. Nikumbha	16. Nikumbha	16. Nikumbha	
17. Saṁhatāśva	17. Saṁhitāśva	17. Saṁhatāśva	16. Saṁhatāśva	17. Saṁḥatāśva	
18. Akṛitāśva	18. Akṛitāśva	18. Akṛiśāśva	17. Akṛiśāśva	18. Akṛitāśva	
19. Prasenajit	19. Prasenajit	19. Prasenajit	18. Prasenajit	19. Prasenajit	
20. Yuvanāśva II	20. Yuvanaśva II	20. Yuvanāśva II	19. Yuvanāśva II	20. Yuvanāśva II	10. Yuvanāśva
21. Mandhatṛi	21. Māndhātṛi	21. Māndhātṛi	20. Māndhātṛi	21. Māndhātṛi	11. Māndhātṛi
22. Durgaha					12. Susandhi
23. Girikshit					13. Dhruvasandhi
24. Purukutsa	22. Purukutsa	22. Purukutsa	21. Purukutsa	22. Purukutsa	14. Bharata
25. Trasadasyu	23. Trasadasyu	23. Trasadasyu	22. Trasadasyu	23. Trasadasyu	
26.					

Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (A. D. Pusalker)	Rāmāyaṇa
27. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	23. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	
28. Vishṇuvṛiddha					
29. Anaraṇya	25. Anaraṇya	25. Anaraṇya		25. Anaraṇya	
30. Trasadaśva	26. Trasadaśva	26. Pṛishadaśva		26. Trasadaśva	
31. Haryaśva II	27. Haryaśva II	27. Haryaśva II (Hasta)		27. Haryaśva II	
32. Hasta				28. Hasta	
33. Rohidaśva					
34. Vasumanas	28. Vasumat	28. Vasumanas		29. Vasumanas	
35. Trivṛishan	29. Tridhanvan	29. Tridhaṇvan	24. Tridhanvan	30. Tridhanvan	
36. Tryaruṇa	30. Trayyaruṇa	30. Trayyāruṇa	25. Trayyāruṇa	31. Trayyāruṇa	
	31.				
37. Triśaṅku	32. Satyavrata-Triśaṅku	31. Satyavrata-Tṛiśaṅku	26. Satyavrata-Triśaṅku	32. Satyavrata-Triśaṇku	

38. Hariścandra	33. Hariścandra	32. Hariścandra	27. Hariścandra	33. Hariścandra	
39. Rohita	34. Rohita	33. Rohitāśva	28. Rohita	34. Rohita	
40. Harita	35. Harita-Chañchu	34. Harita (or Haritāśva (Sañchu)	29. Harita	35. Harita	
41. Chañchu			30. Chañchu	36. Chañcha	
42. Vijaya	36. Vijaya	35. Vijaya	31. Vijaya	37. Vijaya	
43. Ruruka	37. Ruruka	36. Ruruka (or Kuruka)	32. Ruruka	38. Ruruka	
44. Vṛika	38. Vṛika	37. Vṛika	33. Vṛika	39. Vṛika	
45. Bāhu	39. Bāhu (Asita)	38. Bāhu (Asita)	34. Bāhu (Asita)	40. Bāhu (Asita)	15. Asita
	40.				
46. Sagara	41. Sagara	39. Sagara	35. Sagara	41. Sagara	16. Sagara
47. (Asamañjas)	42. Asamañjas	40. Asamañja	36. Asamañja	42. Asamañjas	17. Asamañjas
48. Aṁśumat	43. Aṁśumat	41. Aṁśumān	37. Aṁśumat	43. Aṁśumat	18. Aṁśumat
49. Dilīpa	44. Dilīpa I	42. Dilīpa I	38. Dilīpa I	44. Dilīpa I	19. Dilīpa
50. Bhagīratha	45. Bharīratha	43. Bhagīratha	39. Bhagīratha	45. Bhagīratha	20. Bhagīratha

Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (A. D. Pusalker)	Rāmāyaṇa
51. Suhotra					21. Kakutstha
52. Śruta	46. Śruta	44. Śruta (or Suhotra)	40. Śruta	46. Śruta	22. Raghu
53. Nābhāga	47. Nābhāga	45. Nābhāga	41. Nābhāga	37. Nābhāga	
54. Ambarīsha	48. Ambarīsha	46. Ambarīsha	42. Ambarīsha	48. Ambarīsha	
55. Sindhudvīpa	49. Sindhudvīpa	47. Sindhudvīpa	43. Sindhudvīpa	49. Sindhudvīpa	
56. Ayutāyus	50. Ayutāyus	48. Ayutāyus	44. Ayutāyus	50. Ayutāyus	
57. Ṛituparṇa	51. Ṛituparṇa	49. Ṛituparṇa	45. Ṛituparṇa	51. Ṛituparṇa	
58. Sarvakāma	52. Sarvakāma	50. Sarvakāma	46. Sarvakāma	52. Sarvakāma	
59. Sudāsa	53. Sudāsa	51. Sudāsa	47. Saudāsa	53. Sudāsa	
60. Mitrasaha	54. Mitrasaha-Kalmāshapāda	52. Saudāsa-Mitrasaha-Kalmāshpāda	48. Mitrashaha-Kalmāshapāda	54. Mitrasaha-Kalmāshapāda	23. Kalmāshapāda
61. Aśmaka	55. Aśmaka	53. Aśmaka	49. Aśmaka	55. Aśmaka	24. Śaṅkhaṇa
62. Mūlaka	56. Mūlaka	54. Mūlaka	50. Mūlaka	56. Mūlaka	25. Sudarśana

63. Śataratha	57. Śataratha	55. Śataratha	51. Śataratha	57. Śataratha	26. Agnivarṇa
64. Iḍavida				58. Iḍavida	27. Śīghraga
65. Vṛddha-śarman	58. Aiḍavida Vṛddhaśarman	56. Aiḍavida Vṛiddhaśarman	52. Aiḍavida-Vṛiddhaśarman	59. Aiḍavida-Vṛiddhaśarma	28. Maru
66. Viśvasaha I	59. Viśvasaha I	57. Viśvasaha I		60. Viśvasaha I	29. Praśuśruka (-va in II. 110)
67. Dilīpa Kha-ṭvāṅga	60. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	58. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	53. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	61. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	30. Ambarīsha
68. Dīrghabāhu	61. Dīrghabāhu	59. Dīrghabāhu			31. Nahusha
69. Raghu	62. Raghu	60. Raghu	54. Raghu	62. Raghu	32. Yayāti (Omi-tted in II. 110)
					33. Nābhāhga
70. Aja	63. Aja	61. Aja	55. Aja	63. Aja	34. Aja
71. Daśaratha	64. Daśaratha	62. Daśaratha	56. Daśaratha	64. Daśaratha	35. Daśaratha
72. Rāma	65. Rāma	63. Rāma	57. Rāma	65. Rāma	36. Rāma

THE PROBLEM OF GAṆEŚA IN THE PURĀṆAS *

BY

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[अस्मिन् निबन्धे डा. 'जुआन रोजर रिवरि' नाम्ना स्पेनदेशीयेन विदुषा महादेवसूनोः श्रीगणेशस्य मूलस्वरूपादिविषयका विचाराः प्रस्तुताः, कार्त्तिकेयगणपत्योश्च परस्परसम्बन्धस्य विषये तयोर्मूर्तीनां पूजादीनां च विषये विचारोद्बोधको विमर्शश्च कृतः । शिवस्य द्वौ पुत्रौ श्रूयेते–स्कन्दो गणेशश्च । ख्रीस्ताब्दारम्भे स्कन्दोऽत्र भारते लोकप्रियो देव आसीत् । उपनिषदादिषु प्राचीनग्रन्थेष्वपि तस्योल्लेखः प्राप्यते । परन्त्वधुना स 'सुब्रह्मण्य' इति नाम्ना दक्षिणभारते एव प्रायशः पूज्यते । इतिहासपुराणेषु भगवतः शिवस्यापरोऽपि पुत्रो 'गणेश' इति नाम्ना श्रूयते । तैत्तिरीयारण्यकेऽपि 'वक्रतुण्ड' 'दन्ती' इति च विशेषणद्वयोपेतः कश्चिद्देवः प्रोक्तः । परन्तु महाभारते एव गणेशः प्रथमतः ख्यातिं गतः । स बुद्धिदेवता विघ्नेशश्च मन्यते । सर्वकार्यारम्भे च तस्य पूजा विहिता । ख्रीस्तीयकालस्य दशम्यां शत्यां गाणपत्यसम्प्रदायस्य समुदय आसीत् । अस्मिन् सम्प्रदाये गणेश एव प्रधानदेवता, स एव तत्र परमात्मेति च मन्यते । अस्य सम्प्रदायस्य गणपतितापनीयोपनिषदप्येका वर्त्तते, तथैव गणेशपुराणं नामैकमुपपुराणमपि प्राप्यते । गणेशस्य तस्य शक्तेश्च मूर्त्तयोऽपि 'एलोरा' प्रभृतिस्थानेषु प्राप्यन्ते । तिब्बतदेशे गणेशान्या अपि मूर्त्तयः प्राप्यन्ते । कुत्रचित् शिलामन्दिरेषु जैनैरपि स पूज्यते । महायानबौद्धेऽपि 'गणपतिहृदय' नाम्ना रहस्यात्मकेन मन्त्रेण गणपतेरुपासना प्रचलति । महायानबौद्धस्यायं गणपतिदेवताकः सम्प्रदायोऽधुनापि वर्मा स्याम-तिब्बत-चीन-जापानादिदेशेषु विद्यते । एवं लोके गणेशः पूज्यतमेष्वन्यतमो देवो वर्तते । पुराणानां सम्यगध्ययनेन तस्य स्वरूपादिविकासविषयकमन्यदपि परमोपयोगि ज्ञानं प्राप्स्यते ।]

There is, in Indology, the problem of the origin of Śiva's son : *Gaṇeśa or Ganapati*. I think that some investigations in the Purāṇas could bring a bit of light on this obscure question. In fact, there is, by one side, the affirmation of the existence of a son of Śiva in the Upaniṣadic period : *Kārtikeya or Skanda* and, on the other, the presence of a second son :

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* Purāṇa, Val, IV, No. 1 (January, 1962) pp. 96-102

Gaṇeśa, in the historical period of India both in epics and *Purāṇas*. The development of the person and worship of this latter God, the animal-headed God of the Hindu pantheon, is mysterious. Can we suppose two sons of *Śiva* ? Has *Gaṇeśa* kept some characteristics of his supposed brother ? Has he supplanted the last one by an historical evolution ?

Without going back to the *Sruti* and studying the evolution of the concept of *Sanatkumāra*, "the eternal Son", called in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII, 25, 2) "The God of War", as does H. Heras[1], we can only note that this beautiful image of the "Son of God" is identified with the God *Skand* by Śaṅkara in the *Bhāṣya* on the same Upanisad : "this *Sanatkumāra* is called *Skanda* by the people who know his real character". Narayan Apte, in his commentary on the same Up. affirms also that *Sanatkumāra* is the same as *Skanda* or *Kārtikeya*[2].

Skanda (root *SKAND*-to leap) is the God of War–the planet Mars. According to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is the son of Śiva. His name is found, for the first time, in the *Maitrāyaṇī* and in the *Gṛhya-sūtra*. He has there a demoniac character and his servants are "the catchers". Śiva-Rudra produced him without the intervention of a woman, casting his seed into fire which was afterwards received by the Ganges; he is called for this reason Agni-bhū and Gaṅgā-ja. Fostered by the *Kṛttkāḥ* or Pleiades, hence he has six heads, *Ṣaṅmukha* and the name *Kārtikeya*. Patañjali calls him "he who has two-mothers, three mothers". He was born for the purpose of destroying *Tārakāsura*, a *Daitya* whose austerities were dangerous for the Gods, according to the *Mahābh*.

He is called also *Kumāra*, the boy. There are many representations of this God seated on one of the knees of Pārvatī (Mahabalipuram and Madras Museum). He is a Brahmacārin. He is represented riding on a peacock called Parayani, his usual *vāhana*, holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. He has the appearance of a young man with one, six or twelve heads. The *Kumāratantra* speaks of sixteen distinct representations. He has many titles : as a warrior, he is called *Mahā-sena, Senā-pati, śakti-dhara, Tārakājit*; he is *Guha* "the mysterious one". In the south of India, he is called *Su-Brahmaṇya* (see the poems of *Tiruppugal*

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1. In *The Problem of Gaṇapti*, "Tamil Culture", III, 2 (April, 1954).
2. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* considers *Sanatkumāra* as the first born of all the mind born sons of Brahmā.

by Arungagirinadar) and was the *iṣṭa-devatā* of the Calukyas. His cult is very old in the Tamil-nadu and Worshipped in the mountainous region of the Kuvaras. His main shrine is in Palni.

In the northern India, Skanda was very well known, and numismatic evidence shows him a popular God in the beginning of the Christian era (Banerjee, *the Development of Hindu iconography*).

The Gupta family was much devoted to this deity, as among them two bear names of *Kumāra* and one *Skanda*. Notwithstanding, at a later period, devotion to him died out in northern India; it is odd that his terrible and fearful aspect predominates : Gopinatha Rao[3] affirms that in the Bombay State no woman whose husband is alive would ever visit a temple of *Kārtikeya Svāmī*. He is in fact now almost exclusively a South India deity. We have to lay aside the hypothesis of Prof. Kerbaker that *Skanda* was a popular form of *Soma* in relation with the mention of Dionysos by Megasthenes.

Now, in epics and *Purāṇas*, appears another son of Śiva : *Gaṇeśa* and that is the problem. This name appears for the first time in the *Ṛgveda* (ii, 23·1) where Brahmaṇaspati is given the title of *Gaṇapati (Gaṇānāṁ tvā Gaṇaptiṁ havāmahe)*. The Gaṇa forms the host of semigods, attendants of Śiva. Indra, in the *Ṛg.* (X, 112, 9) is also called *Gaṇapati*; at a later period, the title went to Śiva, for in the epics, Śiva is called *Gaṇeśa* and *Gaṇeśvara*.

The *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* (X, i. 5) speaks of a God who possesses a twisted trunk *(vakratuṇḍa)* and is called *Dantin* (the one having the tusk). But *Gaṇeśa* appears really in the *Mahābhārata*, according to Winternitz. Bhandarkar[4] shows that in the *Smṛti* of *Yājñavalkya* (6th cent.), *Gaṇapati* is mentioned as a demon exalted to the rank of a deva and, in the 8th cent, "described as elephant-headed". Notwithstanding in the frieze round the Kantaka Cetinga stupa, near Mihintale, in Ceylon (1st and 2nd cent.), there is a double procession of *gaṇa*, carrying gifts and converging to a central point, wherein there is another figure with the face of an elephant with his trunk turned to the left, as most of his images of a later period are[5]. *Gaṇeśa* appears as an attendant of Śiva, according to the rock-cut

3. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, 2 p. 415.
4. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Sects*, pp. 147-148.
5. Getty, *Gaṇesh : A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, p. 25, pl. 22c (cited by H. Heras, *op. cit.*)

temples of Aihole. Hopkins notes[6] the affirmation of Manu : "*Śambhu* is the God of the Brāhmaṇans, while *Gaṇeśa* is the God of the Śūdras". Miss Getty conludes that it seems "to have been known to the uneducated classes upto the sixth century".

Gaṇeśa is the God of wisdom and remover of obstacle, being propitiated at the beginning of any special undertaking. His popularity is very extensive; in the 10th century arose the sect of the *Gāṇapatya* with the *Śaṇkaradigvijaya* of Ānandatīrtha. For them, he was the supreme God, the first Cause, *Paramātman*. They had an Upaniṣad, the *Gaṇpatitāpanīya* (or *Varadatāpanīya*). The mantra of the Gāṇapatyas was *śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ*, and the sect seems to decay in the 12th century. Bhandarkar thinks that the active period of the sect was between the 5th and the 8th centuries.

We find Gaṇapati in many *Puraṇas* ; the *Agni P.* describes a ritual of *Gaṇeśa*. Others speak of him as a deity above the Trimūrti. The *Gaṇeśa* P., an *Upapurāṇa*, condenses the theology and the cult of the God[7]. It was the influence of the *Gāṇapatyas* that introduced him with his myths into the last editions of the *Purāṇas* The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* contains many stories about him and equates him with *Kṛṣṇa*[8]; the *Vāmana P.* speaks of the origin of the God; the *Varāha P.* narrates his birth; the *Padma P.* describes his cult; the *Garuḍa P.* includes him among the five great Gods. The Hindu Architecture shows how his cult is popular; we find him in Tantrism, specially in the *Prapañcasāra Tantra*.

There are images of this God with his *Śakti* (Ellora); Miss Getty speaks of a female form of Gaṇeśa, a Gaṇeśānī at Bhera ghat, near Jubbulpore, whose left bent leg is supported by a small Gaṇeśa, half kneeling underneath. There are female forms of the God in Tibet, where he represents *Mahākāla* in the lamaic Buddhism. We find *Gaṇapati* worshipped by some Jainas in rock Temples. Heras writes that "the Museum of our Indian Historical Research Institute possesses a few metal images of Gaṇeśa which came from places of Jaina worship, among them one is of *Mahā-Gaṇapati* with his *Śakti*" (op. cit. p. 182). There is a cult of a mystic mantra, the *Gaṇapatihṛdaya*, in the *Mahāyāna*

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6. *Religions of India*, p. 487.
7. A good analysis of this Upapurāṇa is by Stevenson, *Analysis of the Gaṇesh Purāṇa* in J.R.A.S., 1846, pp. 319-329.
8. There exists a *Gaṇeśa Gitā* in which the name of the God substitutes that of Kṛṣṇa.

Buddhism, the mantra said to be given by the Buddha to Ānanda and to be used at the time of the dedication of an image of a dancing *Gaṇeśa*. The cult of the God through the *Mahāyāna* can be found in Buddhist countries, Burma, Siam, Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, where there are many artistic creations of his figure on painting and sculpture. We have seen the twofold aspect of Gaṇeśa as a demon and a god. It is very interesting to find again this character in the Buddhism where he appears as *Vinataka* under the feet of the goddess Aparājitā, who is called *Gaṇapati-samākrāntā* for this reason, or under the feet of the black *Mañjuśri* of the lamaic pantheon; but he is also, as in India, *Vighneśa, Vighnahārin,* the "remover of obstacles".

It is evident that this Śiva's son has adopted, little by little, many characteristics of his father; he has the *ūrdhva liṅga*, the third eye, three faces (Japan), five heads as *Heramba Gaṇapati* (Nepal), riding the lion of *Pārvatī*, with his *Śakti*, wearing a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, dancing the *Tāṇḍava (Nṛtta-Gaṇapti)* on one leg like Śiva; he holds the trident, the *aṅkuśa* and the rosary; he is ornamented with skulls, symbol of Śiva as Destroyer. In the south his cult is very popular and Srikanta Iyer writes that "Gaṇeṣa has become the most popular of all the domestic deities of India"[9].

Now, if we return to *Kumāra*, his supposed brother, we find that the position of the two brothers is ambiguous. The second son of Śiva appears in the purāṇic and epic periods as an intruder; in the images of the two borthers with *Pārvatī*, we find many times *Kārtikeya* seated on the lap of the Goddess and *Gaṇeśa* playing beside her, as affirms Miss Getty. Sometimes, the two brothers are next to each other in adoration in front of Śiva and Pārvatī (Elephanta). But, in the *Purāṇas*, there are many stories "in which Gaṇeśa fought with Skanda and emerged victorious, though with the loss of his tusk", as writes Venkatakrishna Rao [10]. The modern interpretations affirm that Gaṇeśa is the elder and *Skandi* the younger; this last one is always a war-god and symbolises the brutal, physical forces, the elder represents the spiritual forces which help the man to reach *mokṣa*. We can perceive the two ways of the confidence in the efficacy of the personal endeavour or the submission to the divine grace. Heras says that 'in Northern India, Skanda, Kumāra or Kārttikeya is absolutely

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9. *"The popular view of Gaṇeśa in Madras"*, in "Indian Antiquary", XXX, p. 255.

10. *The Gaṇapati Cult* in Q.J.M.S.XLi, p. 94.

overlooked in the religious life of the people. For the majority of the people Śiva has only one son and that is Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati. Accordingly he receives the titles of *Śivaputra, Śambhutanaya* and *Śambhusuta*" (op. cit. p. 195). This author quotes the *Skanda* P. which "depicts the crowds of unworthy people *Śūdras* and barbarians worshipping Siva at Somnath in order to attain to the heavens of the *devas*. The minor deities headed by Indra protested to Maheśvara. The latter then created Vināyaka, the Lord of obstacles, to impede those low people to enter heaven" (p. 195).

The Indologists have advanced some theories to explain the mystery of the origin of Gaṇeśa, this *Dvaimātura,* having two mothers". Miss Getty believes that he was primarily the totem of a Dravidian tribe, though there is no evidence of such a totem. Prof. Foucher thinks of an elephant-spirit of the jungle with a therianthropic evolution. Meyer affirms that it was a spirit of the fecundity and of the deads in connection with the "Mothers"; Grierson and Crooke believe in a solar hero of Dravidian origin. Coomara Swamy supposes that Gaṇeśa was a *Yakṣa,* one of the semigods attending on Kubera, but we do not find any of his names in the yakṣa lists, according to Miss Getty. The matter is more complicated, yet, because all the myths of his birth show that *Ganeśa* had originally a man's head which was substituted for the head of an elephant *(Brahmavaivarta P., Śiva P., Varāha P.)*.. Heras and Zimmer think of a connection with the *Nāga* (the word means also elephant) tribes which were spread all over India; for them, the idea of giving the elephant-head to *Skanda,* the God of War, is not so extraordinary.

In any way, the mystery of Gaṇeśa remains. He has the original characteristics of Śiva and *Skanda,* without any foundation in the *Veda.* I think that systematical studies of the *Purāṇa* could give some light on the problem of his origin. We must not forget that the *Purāṇas* were meant especially for the masses and represented the *Veda* for the laity. The characteristics of *Gaṇeśa* are eminently popular and his origins are surely humble and perhaps pre-Aryan; I think of a Dravidian or Indus valley origin. The *Purāṇas* occupy a very important position in the religious life of the Hindus as they have been, and are still the main sources of remote traditions in spite of the apocryphal character and revisions or modifications of some of them. I am sure that a detailed study of the Puranic references, special terminology and subject-concordance connected with *Gaṇeśa* could be useful to investigate the obscure origin of this popular God.

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DID VYĀSA OWE HIS ORIGIN TO BEROSSUS ? *‡

By

R. C. HAZRA

[बुद्धिमतां वरिष्ठो भारतीयः कृष्णाद्वैपायनो व्यासः 'बैबिलोनियादेशीयः बैरोसस इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धः ऐतिहासिक एव नान्यः' इति मतं श्रीबुद्धप्रकाशेन विदुषा प्रकटीकृतम् । तस्यैव परीक्षाणमत्र श्री हाजरामहोदयेन कृतं तस्य निस्सारता च प्रदर्शिता, अनेकैः प्रमाणैर्व्यासस्य प्राचीनत्वं भारतीयत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् । तेषु मध्ये गोपथब्राह्मणे व्यासस्य स्पष्टतया नामोल्लेखः असांशयिकं प्रत्नतमं प्रमाणम् ।]

Indian tradition of a very long standing and wide acceptance connects Vyāsa with the compilation of the Vedas and the authorship of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. The real name of this venerable sage of uncommon wisdom was 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana' (literally meaning 'The Black Island-born one'), because, as the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas say, he was born in an island of the river Yamunā and had a dark complexion. His second name 'Vyāsa' was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into four Vedas, and this name has been used much more frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas than his original name 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana'.

From a comparative study of the Epics and the Purāṇas both textually and materially and from the early dates to which the oldest of the extant Purāṇas may reasonably be assigned, it appears that Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana had come to be known as Vyāsa much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. But the absence of any such record naming Vyāsa as can be assigned to a definite date and our lack of information about the earliest works containing his name, leave us in absolute darkness about the antiquity of the tradition. As a result, scholars have sometimes differed widely with regard to the age and historicity of Vyāsa who has occupied our mind and enjoyed our veneration for such a long time. Of the view of these scholars the most striking seems to be that of Sri Buddha Prakash, who, in his interesting and informative article entitled 'Vyāsa (A Study in Indo-Babylonian Cultural Contact)', has tried to show

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* Purāṇa, Vol. II, No.g-2(July, 1960) pp. 17-22

‡. This article was published in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVII, 1951, pp. 32-42.

that 'Vyāsa' was indebted for his origin, name and principal activities to Berossus, a Babylonian priest and historian of great fame and learning, who lived immediaely after Alexander's conquest of Babylonia about 300 B.C. and wrote in Greek, for the new rulers, a comprehensive history of Babylonia by recording in it the earliest traditions about the local people and their religion and culture. The original work of Berossus is now lost, but quotations from it in the works of later writers still exist to give us an idea of the performance of the noted historian of the past.

The above view put forward by Sri Buddha Prakash deserves credit for its novelty and originality, but in spite of the evidences adduced in its support we cannot accept it for reasons stated below.

The *Vishṇudharma, Vishṇudharmottara, Vahni-purāṇa, Vāyu-purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa,* etc., which come from early dates[1], are all fully acquainted with the tradition of Vyāsa's original authorship of the Purāṇas, and these works presuppose and often utilise the *Mahābhārata*, which, therefore, pushes back the said tradition to a date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya,* which betrays its knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* by frequently alluding to its legends and quoting its verses on a number of occasions, contains the name of 'Śuka Vaiyāsaki' (Śuka, son of Vyāsa); Kātyāyana names 'Vyāsa' in his Vārttika 'vyāsa-varuḍa-nishāda-chaṇḍāla-bimbānāṃ cheti Vaktavyam', with which he provides for the formation of the Taddhitānta words 'Vaiyāsaki' etc.; the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* (ii. 5.27) names 'Vyāsa', 'Vasishṭha' and others in its section on the offering of libations (tarpaṇa) to gods and sages; the *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka* (1.9.2.) names 'Vyāsa Pārāśarya' ('Vyāsa, son of Parāśara') in the line sa hovācha vyāsa Pārāśaryaḥ, vidyud-vadham evāhaṃ mṛtyum aichchham iti'; and in giving a list of teachers the *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 9.8) names 'Vyasa Pārāśarya' as a pupil of Vishvaksena and preceptor of Jaimini in the following passage :

So'yaṃ prājapātyo vidhiḥ, tam imaṃ prajāpatir bṛihaspataye provāca bṛihaspatir Nāradāya nārado vishvaksenāya vishvakseno vyāsāya pārāśaryāya vyāsaḥ pārāśaryo Jaiminaye jaiminiḥ paushpiṇḍyāya ... ... /"

The facts that in dealing with tarpaṇa the *Āśvalāyana-gṛihyasūtra* (iii 4.4.) is completley silent about Vyāsa[1], although it names Sumantu.

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1. For the probable dates of these works see R.C. Hazra *Studies in the Upapurāṇas,* Vol. I, pp. 143 and 212; *Our Heritage,* Vol. II, Part I, 1954, p. 83; Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* pp. 13-19.

Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila, who are supposed to be Vyāsa's pupils, that in the same topic the *Baudhāyanagṛihyasūtra* (iii.9.3) and the *Bhāradvāja-gṛihyasūtra* (3.9) name the sage Dvaipāyana as Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana (and not as Vyāsa), and that the Buddhist Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana-jātaka frequently names this sage as 'Kaṇha-dīpāyana' (Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana) or simply 'Dīpāyana' (Dvaipāyana) but not even once as 'Vyāsa', do not deserve any serious consideration, because the list of teachers (āchāryāḥ) in the said aphorism of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛihyasūtra* is not exhaustive as the words 'ye chānye āchāryās te sarve tṛipyantu' indicate, and the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa,* which cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C., names 'Vyāsa' in the following passage :

"atharvaṇāṃ chandramā devataṃ tad eva jyotiḥ/sarvāṇi chhandāṁsyāpaḥ sthānam/śaṃ no devīr abhishṭaya ity evamādiṃ kṛitvātharva-vedam adhīyate/adbhyaḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamo bhūtagrāmaḥ saṃbhavati, tasmāt sarvam āpomayaṃ bhūtaṃ sarvam bhṛigvaṅgiromayam/antaraite trayo vedā bhṛgūnaṅgirasaḥ śritā ity ab iti prakṛitir apām oṃkāreṇa chaitasmād vyāsaḥ purovācha bhṛigv-aṅgirovidā saṃskṛito'nyān vedān adhīyīta nānyatra saṁskṛito bhrigv-aṅgiraṣo' dhīyīta/ ... ... /"

(*Gopatha brāhmaṇa* i.1.29).

So, the name of 'Vyāsa' had been known in India centuries before the birth of Berossus of Babylon.

The legend of the divine Man-Fish (Ea-Han or Oannas) and great food, described in deail both by Berossus and Vyāsa, and the fact that both these authors wrote on the history and mythology of their own country, must not be taken to prove the indebtendness of the latter to the former. There is much evidence to show that the proto-Indians were familiar with the idea of the horned fish and a particular divinity attached to it:[2] and Berossus himself says 'that the civilization was first established in Summer by men who came from the east, and that those were half-men and half-fishes. According to Father Heras these must have been the same as the Minas of India, whose deity was closely associated with the fish.'[3] So, there is little doubt about the fact that the flood legend migrated from India to Babylonia and other places at a very early period.

It is true that in his *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* (which forms the eighth chapter of his *Prākṛita Dvyāśraya-kāvya* alias *Kumārapālacha-*

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2. A.P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, Vol I, p. 157.
3. A.P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, Vol I, p. 157.

rita[4] Hemchandra gives two rules, viz. 'vādho ro luk' (viii. .4. 398) and 'abhūtopi kvachit' (viii. 4. 399), which he explains thus :

"apabhraṁśe saṁyogād adho vartamāno repho lug vā bhavati //
jai kevāi pāvīsu piu //[5] pakshe
jai bhaggā pārakkaḍā to sahi majjhu priyeṇa//[6] 398 //"

and

"apabhraṁśa kvacid avidyamānopi repho bhavati /
vrāsu mahārisi eu bhaṇai jai sui-satthu Famāṇu /
māyahā chalaṇa navantāhaṁ divi divi gaṅgā-ṇhāṇu//[7]
kvachid iti kim/ vāseṇa vi bhāraha-khambhi baddha //[8] 399 //"

Of these two rules (which have been repeated in Lakshmīdhara's *Shaḍ-bhāshā chandrikā*[8a]) of 'r' (र्) forming the second member of a conjunct consonant, but the second has been translated by P.L. Vaidya as follows :

"*repha* is substituted for a member of the conjunct in some cases; e.g. Vrāsa for Vyāsa."

From the use of the *'kta'*-pratyaya in 'abhūta' in the second rule and from Hemachandra's explanation of the same it is clear that this rule (abhūtopi kvachit) relates not to any case of substitution of 'r' for any

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4. Ed. S. P. Pandit, (second edition revised by P.L. Vaidya, Poona 1936).

5. "yadi kathamapi prāpsyāmi priyam'–(If somehow I meet my lover) *Ibid* Notes. p. 694.

6. "yadi bhagnāḥ parakiyāḥ tat sakhi mama priyeṇa"–If the enemies have been defeated, that, my friend, (must have been done) by my lover.

7. "Vyāsaḥ mahārṣhiḥ etad bhaṇati yadi śruti-śāstraṃ pramāṇam/
mātṛiṇāṃ caraṇau namatāṃ divase divase gaṅgā-snānam //
Vyāsa, the great sage, says this : If the Veda and the Śāstra are to be regarded as authoritative, then those who pay homage to the feet of their mothers get the merit of bathing in the Ganges every day." *Kumārapāla charita*, Notes, pp.694-5.
It is probable that the word 'śruti-śāstra' like 'veda-śāstra' in *Manu-smrti* 4. 260. means 'the Vedic scripture'.

8. "vyāsenāpi bhārata stambhe baddham.
"Vyāsa also has said this in the Bhārata books".
The other reading gives 'vyāsenāpi Bhārataṃ stambhe baddham'. For want of context the meaning of the line is uncertain.'
Kumārapāla-charita, Notes, pp. 394-5.

8a. Ed. K.P. Trivedi (Bombay Sanskrit Series LXXI, 1916), p. 267 (Sūtras 3.3, 5 and 3, 3, 6).

member of a conjuct consonant, as P.L. Vaidya says, but definitely to cases of insertion of 'r' immediately after a consonant. So, this rule should be translated as follows :

"In Apabhraṁśa the 'r', though absent, sometimes comes in (as a second member of a conjunct consonant)."

It is evident that by this rule Hemachandra provides for the derivation of the Apabhraṃśa from 'Vrāsa' optionally from its tat-sama form 'Vāsa' derived from the Sanskrit 'Vyāsa'. But this is not a solitary case in which 'r' is inserted in an Apabhraṁśa word. Similar insertion of 'r', though very rare, is also found in the words 'Vrāḍi' (for Sanskrit 'Vyāḍi),[9] 'bhrāsa' (for Sanskrit 'bhāṣya'),[10] 'vrāgaraṇu' and 'vrākrosu' (for Sanskrit 'vyākaraṇam' and 'vyākrośa' respectively),[11] 'prassadi (for Sanskrit 'paśyati'),[12] 'bhrāntri' (for Sanskrit 'bhrānti')[13] and so on.[14] So, Śri Buddha Prakash is not right when he says "Evidently 'Vāsa' is derived from the Sanskrit form 'Vyāsa' but it cannot be the tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu', since there is no rule of universal application by which a 'r' is inserted in the Apabhraṁśa forms of such words. Hemachandra found the form 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' in use in popular speech and he had to make a rule simply to describe this particular irregular form. The tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' has to be searched elsewhere".[15] As a matter of fact, 'the insertion of -r- as a second member of a consonant group where no such historical relation is traceable to Old Indo-Aryan, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Apabhraṃśa',[16] and *the final u in 'Vrāsu is a case-termination* (as in 'mohu' 'kālu', 'bhamaru' etc. respectively for Sanskrit 'Mohaḥ', 'Kālaḥ', bhramaraḥ etc.) If, for the presence of 'r' and final u 'Vrāsu' is to be derived from 'Berossus', how then are we to account for the forms 'Vrāḍi', 'bhrāsa', 'vrākrosu', 'vrāgaraṇu', 'piu',

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9. See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita-sarvasva* (ed. Bhaṭṭanātha-svāmin, Vizagapatam, 1912), 17.3.
10. Kramadīśvara's *Saṃkshipta-sāra*, 5.5.
11. Mārkaṇḍeya's *Pākṛita-sarvasva*, 17.3.
12. Hemachandra's *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana*, 4, 393 and 360.
13. Hemachandra's *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana*, 4, 393 and 360.
14. For more instances see G.V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa* (Poona, 1948) pp. 100-101.
15. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, p. 33.
16. G. V. Tagare. Historical *Grammar of Apabhraṁśa*, p. 100.

'sui-satthu', 'pamāṇu' etc.? We do not deny the possibility of the spread of the name and fame of Berossus into Gujarat through merchants who carried on maritime commerce between Babylon and the mouth of the Indus; and that might be the reason for the confusion of Sanskrit Vyāsa with 'Vrāsa' in Apabhraṁśa in Gujarat, but how could 'Vyāsa' be derived from Apabhraṁśa 'Vrāsa' and how could the final 'u' of 'Brāsu' (<Berossus) be changed into 'a' in the Apabhraṃśa form ? Neither Hemachandra, Lakshmīḍhara or Markaṇḍeya, nor any other Prakrit grammarian provides for these changes. So, the attempt to derive 'Vyāsa' from 'Berossus' is against the Indian tradition[17] and its antiquity is also against the prescription of grammarians.

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17. We must not overlook the epic and Purāṇic statements that Vyāsa's name was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into the four Vedas.

A METRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA* (I)

BY

C. R. SWAMINATHAN

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य छन्दसां विषये अत्रालोचनात्मकः विचारः क्रियते । अनुष्टुबतिरिक्तं पञ्चविंशतिसंख्याकभेदभिन्नानि वृत्तान्तराणि अस्मिन् पुराणे प्रयुज्यन्ते । तान्यपि पाठभ्रंश-दोषायत्ततया न लक्षणानुसारीणि । अतस्तेषां निर्णयोऽत्र विधातुं प्रयत्यते ।]

In the first number of this Bulletine (pp. 72-79), readers would have noticed the article by Sri Thakura Prasad Dwivedi, which shows that a sequence of so-called prose passages in chapter 154 of the Matsya Purāṇa really consists of verses in the Sragviṇī metre. It would be of interest to scholars to have a complete metrical analysis of the Matsya Purāṇa.

The major part of the Matsya Purāṇa, as it is in the case of other Purāṇas, is in verses of the Śloka Anushṭubh metre.vb Outside of the Anushṭubh, the Matsya displays indeed a wide variety, no less than 25 other metres being employed. Next to the Anushṭubh, the most frequently employed metre is the Upajāti within which are included the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā in all their variations. These number about 450 couplets or nearly 900 lines. In the following table, the non-Anushṭubh and non-Upajāti metres are arranged in the order of their syllabic extent and the reference to chapters and verses where they occur and the total number of half-verses (ardhas) in each metre are given.

Syllables per Quarter	Name of the Metre	Chapter & verse number (Āss. Edition)	Total No. of Ardhas
11	Dodhaka	116-23; 154-470 to 478	20
11	Bhramaravilasita	180.43	2
11	Rathoddhatā	97-17 to 20	8
11	Śālinī	154-8 to 15; 165-24	19
12	Bhujaṅgaprāyata	153-183 to 189; 154-576,577	18
12	Drutavilambita	158-11 to 19; 287-14,15.	23
12	Sragviṇī	154-554 to 575	

* Purāṇa Vol. II No. 1-2 (July 1960) Pp. 243-251 Prepared under the direction of Dr. V. Raghavan.

12	Toṭaka	154-30, 31, 33 to 37; 188-67 to 70.	22
12	Vaṁśastha	126-41; 130-27, 28; 133-67, 70, 72; 136-66 to 68; 138-57; 140-43; 148-100, 101, 102; 153-151 to 154; 154-397 to 403; 162-36; 180-24 to 27,29,30,32; 251-26.	71
13	Praharshiṇī	92-35; 164-28; 180-37, 38	
13	Ruchirā	118-77; 153-28; 154-452 to 458, 460 to 463, 465 to 468;250-54; 251-27, 29, 31, 33, 34	50
14	Vasantatilakā	64-28; 83-21 to 27; 96-14, 25; 100-8,9; 116-25; 138-46, 47;180-33, 34, 39 to 41, 78, 79; 255-24; 257-22, 23; 270-35, 36; 274-77, 78; 276.17, 18; 277-22; 279-11, 12, 13; 280-15; 281-15; 282-13 to15; 283-17 to 19; 287-12, 13; 288-15, 16	84
15	Mālinī	63-29; 82-31; 93-161; 180-31, 44; 275-28, 29; 278-29; 280-14; 282-16; 284-21; 288-17; 289-17.	24
16	Pañchachāmara	153.137 to 139, 141 to 145	15
17	Pṛithvī	95-37	2
21	Sragdharā	1-2; 180-35, 36	6
11/12	Aparavaktra	133-70; 137-30, 36	6
12/13	Pushpitāgrā	54-31; 55-33; 60-49; 61-57; 62-39; 98-15; 100-37; 115-19; 134-33; 136-64; 137-31, 33; 161-89; 276-19; 281-14; 285-21, 23; 286-16	38
11/12	Mālābhriṇī	69-62; 81-1, 2; 95-36	2
	Āryā	193-35 to 37; 40 to 44	

Verses included in the above table are those which do not present any metrical problem and whose metrical identity is clear. There is, however, a large number of lines which show metrical irregularities and whose readings as well as metres can be decided only on the basis of a detailed examination of the evidences available in the various manuscripts collated

for the Matsya-edition, as also in the other Purāṇas where these lines may occur. This examination will of course involve a scrutiny of the internal evidence of the story and other elements of the narrative. Such a detailed discussion of all the irregular lines is taken up now, following the order of the chapters and the metres discussed. First the non-Upajāti metres are taken up.

It will be seen from the above table that outside of the Anushṭubh and the Upajāti, twenty metres are used in the Matsya. Among these 20, there are both common and comparatively rarer metres. A glance at the frequency shows that Vasantatilakā is employed largest after Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti. Vaṁśastha and Pushpitāgrā come next. The next places are taken by Mālinī and Ruchirā. Two of these metres are, it may be noted, mentioned by their name, the Bhramarvilasita which occurs only in one clear case and the Toṭaka.

पुन्नागेषु द्विजगणविरुतं रक्ताशोकस्तबकभरनमितम् ।
रम्योपान्तश्रमहरपवनं फुल्लाब्जेषु भ्रमरविलसितम् ॥ 180-43]

यः पठेत्तोटकं दिव्यं प्रयतः शुचिमानसः ।
बाणस्येव यथा रुद्रस्तस्यापि वरदो भवेत् ॥ [188-72]

(At the end of a sequence of Toṭaka verses)

Pāda 2 of the above Bhramavilasita has one laghu in excess in most mss, but three mss. have readings which are metrically correct. viz., स्तबकविनमितम् or स्तबकभरनतम् ।

Of Sragviṇī alone it should be noted that the entry in the above table is based not on the ĀSS. text but on the reconstructed text for which please see the article in the first number of this Bulletin, already referred to.

Another point to be noted is that, as in the case of Anushṭubhs, which are found in epics in three Ardhas sometimes, we find in Matsya, some of those non-Anuṣṭubh and non-Upajāti verses also in three Ardhas; thus we find Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Drutavilambita, Vaṁśastha and Ruchirā, having occassionally three Ardhas.

The references and numbers given in the above table refer only to cases in which the respective metres are correct in all the four pādas. There are indeed a few cases of verses in the metres in the above table in which there is admixture in one pāda. or more rarely in one Ardha, of a different metre and there are also other cases, more numerous, in which the metre, one among these in the above table. is clear but owing to defective

readings there are metrical flaws. Such numbers are not included in the above table, as they will all be discussed now.

77.17-a

This verse is in Pushpitāgrā except for the first quarter in which the ĀSS. gives the fifth syllable as a *guru* while it should be *laghu* :

इदमनघं श्रृणोति यः स्मरेद्वा

Nine of the Manuscripts collated read this letter as a *guru,* Eight others which retain the word अनघ here read it as a vocative, which would be alright for the metre.

100.10

Three feet of this verse (a, b and d) are incorrect Vasantatilaka but the third foot alone reads भगवन्मयाथ तनयैरथवानयापि which is hypermetric by one syllable and also opens with two shorts, while two longs are required at the beginning of a Vasantatilakā line. That this is incorrect Vasantatilakā is shown by a large number of manuscripts which read here सम्यङ् मयाथ or सद्धर्मजात । Whatever the variants here, according to a majority of manuscripts, the third foot opens correctly as a Vasantatilakā. All the nine manuscripts which read with ĀSS. भगवन्मयाथ are Devanāgarī manuscripts. The Ujjain Śāradā also reads simiarly. The North Indian scribes probably read according to their vocal habit भगवन् as भग्वन् without intermediate 'a' being sounded and consequently felt no metrical defect or a more likely explanation is that the scribe was attracted to the succeeding lines which are in Pramitāksharā, for the line under discussion upto भगवन् मयाथ तनयैरथवा will answer to Pramitāksharā.

That 10-c is incorrect Vasantatilakā and its reading at the opening may be सम्यङ्मयाथ is confirmed also by the Bhavishya Purāṇa Uttara Parvan 85, where this episode occurs, as also the sequence of verses upto verse 10 of the ĀSS.

100-11, 12

The lines numbered 11 to12 in ĀSS. really contain five lines. Of these, the first three lines are printed like Vasantatilakā, the second of these being in correct Vasantatilakā and the first and the third agreeing with Vasantatilakā except for the opening two syllables, which are short, thus being similar to the third foot of verse 10 discussed above. But the solution indicated by the readings for these lines lies in a totally different direction. It would appear that instead of being mislection for Vasantatilakā they are really Pramitāksharā which have been re-written with some fillers to give

Vasantatilakā. Nine of the manuscripts open 11-a with मुनिरुवाच, suggesting that this portion stands for the interlocutor i.e. sage Prāchetasa, and does not form part of the verse proper. One of our sources has instead of मुनिरुवाच, 'प्रचेता', thus supporting the assumption that this portion of the line stands for the speaker and does not form part of the verse. But 18 other manuscripts, including the Oriyā, the Śāradā and the Grantha, support the opening with two *laghus*–मुनि, thus authenticating a metre different form Vasantatilakā.

12-a and c also begin with two *laghus* in the same manner and the last two pādas in this series do not have any touch of Vasantatilakā and are wholly in Pramitāksharā.

अभिसङ्गता परमभीष्टतमा
विमुखी महीश तव योषिदियम् ।

This last line of the series in correct Pramitāksharā gives the clue to the re-construction of the whole series of five lines and justify our assumption that the additional words making up the required syllables for Vasantatilakā are fillers. Our assumption is supported by the readings of our manuscripts as we shall see presently.

We shall take line by line. In 10-a, b, only nine manuscripts read a word समीक्ष्य as the concluding part of a partial Vasantatilakā-pāda. All other manuscripts stop the pāda with भवान्तरितं । Then पृथ्वीपते:, with two *gurus* to give a correct opening to Vasantatilakā, second pāda, is read in all the other manuscripts, 18 in number, as पृथिवीपते: (or पृथिवीमिमां in two of them) to accord with the Pramitāksharā. The further part of 10-b is also read in all these 18 manuscripts differently giving a correct Pramitāksharā; thus this line would read according to these manuscripts as

मुनिरभ्यधादथ (मुनिरप्यवाद्यथ) (मुनिरभ्यभाषत) भवान्तरितं
पृथिवीपतेरवगमय्य कथां (समधिगम्य कथां) (समवगम्य कथाम्) ।

11–c, d read in ĀSS, and three other manuscripts as a correct Vasantatilakā with an identical text. Three other manuscripts read the line as Vasantatilakā, though with slight difference of reading. But the bulk of the manuscript evidence is against Vasantatilakā. 21 manuscripts which include the Śāradā, the Oriyā, the Grantha and the Malayālam manuscripts, read c and d with *laghu*-openings and as Pramitāksharā lines. Thus according to these manuscripts, 11-c and d would read

तव जन्म लुब्धककुले परुषा

मतिरप्यनेकजनघातकरी ।

12–a, b represent a mixture of the two metres like 10-a, b. Here again the manuscript evidence gives us help to restore the correct Pramitāksharā readings. As even the ĀSS. edition opens 12-a as a Pramitāksharā, we have to examine only the evidence for the ending of 12-a and the opening of 12-b. All the manuscripts close 12-a correctly as Pramitāksharā though with slight differences in the readings as पुरुषं परुषं or वपुषाम्. The words अङ्गसन्धि: added to give the Vasantatilakā-finish are really part of the opening of the second pāda i.e. 12-b. Here the manuscripts are divided in the actual readings but not on the metrical character. The majority open 12-b as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि with a lesser number reading प्रथिताङ्गसन्धि, पतिताङ्गसन्धि, पुरुषाङ्गसन्धि, अतिपूतिगन्धि, and विचित्रं विगन्धि. The latter part of 12-b read as Vasantatilakā in ĀSS. सत्त्वं भुजगाभरणं समन्तात् is very scarcely supported. Only two manuscripts read at the end समन्तात् or प्रजानां to give a Vasantatilakā-finish. In all the other manuscripts these three extra syllables are totally absent. On the basis of the manuscript evidence, 12-b may be restored in correct Pramitāksharā as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धिकुनखाभरणम् । वृजिन in वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि is to be taken in the sense of कुटिल or crooked. दुर्गन्धि and सत्त्व of ĀSS. are fillers to give Vasantatilakā finish.

12-c, न च ते सुहृन्न सुतबन्धुजन: is correct Pramitāksharā. न तात: added to this to give a Vasantatilakā-end is to be dropped, as manuscriptps do not support it. On the other hand the manuscriptps read here न पिता in the same sense but as opening the second half of the verse in Pramitāksharā. 12-d may therefore be restored as न पिता सखा न जननी च तदा with some slight variations regarding च for न or तथा in one manuscript for तदा.

12-e, f offer no difficulties regarding their correct metre which is Pramitāksharā.

The manuscripts evidently gave trouble as all this metrical confusion shows and the Bhavishyottara solved the difficulty by putting the ideas relating to the former hunter-birth in a few Anuṣṭubh lines after which the Bhavishyottara agrees textually with Matsya (the Upajāti beginning with 13).

69-63.

Pādas 1,2,3 of this verse are in correct Pushpitāgrā. The fourth pāda forms a mixed line whose metrical identity is not clear. Not only does any of the manuscripts offer any reading to reconstruct them into correct Pushpitāgrā, but in Padma (Ch. 23; Sl. 72) where the whole section occurs gives the identical reading धर्मम् उद्धर्तुमिहैव य: करोति । The Anvaya of the verse itself is somewhat intriguing and metrically this last foot is hyper-

metric by one syllable for Viyoginī and for an even pāda of Pushpitāgrā, it falls short of one syllable; also its fourth and fifth syllables, both long, do not accord with Pushpitāgrā.

69-64.

It is metrically to be accepted as Pushpitāgrā. Its only discrepancy is in the first pāda. where as it is, it is hyper-metric, by two syllables. In the Padma, the line is read as follows in a slightly defective Pushpitāgrā– इदमनघं शृणोति चातिभक्त्या Our manuscripts disclose readings which though they differ among themselves, give the correct Pushpitāgrā in all cases, Thus according to the Ms. readings. the line could read य इदमघविदारणं शृणोति, without भक्त्या though, in this case, we have to acquiesce in the Pādānta-laghu, or we could read the line as य इदमनु शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms. Tg), or it could also be read as इदमनघ शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms.-N) with 'यः' as understood. The Padma reading could really be the last one, the अनघं there being a mistake for अनघ

133-68.

This is cast in Aparavaktra. But the first and the last pādas alone are correct. The manuscripts no doubt have many variants but none of a definitely directive nature which would enable us to re-construct the second and third pādas into correct Aparavaktras. Apart from the metre, the sense has to be taken into account in restoring the lines here. In the third and the fourth pādas, the readings which have both काञ्चनाचलः and अद्रिः are guilty of redundance. For the last foot, there are clews supported by atleast four manuscripts which do not have अद्रिः but read अपरः in some form, thus giving us the line व्रजति सपक्ष इवापरोऽम्बरे. The subject of the verse is 'Śiva's *Ratha*. We may take that it is compared to the golden mountain Meru moving in the air. As mountains are fabled to have had wings, the epithet in the fourth pāda is alright. To justify this element of comparison with the winged Meru. the Ratha has to possess brilliant appearance as well as flying banners. On the basis of such a meaning, we might re-construct pāda 3 which now reads वचनविशेषैर्विचित्रभूषणैः and which the bulk of the variants read in one compound वचनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः Here वचन might be re-constructed into वसन to give the sense of banners which are described in verse 38 above. It might be that withou constructing वसनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः with chariot in the next line, the scrib might have made the change वचनविशेषैः against the metre, to give

easier construction with the preceding verb प्रतुष्टुवुः. Line 3 is really difficult of restoration. The 'ग' reading noted in the ĀSS. seems to be an effort at reconstruction to accord with the sense and metre–त्रिपुरमथरथश्च काञ्चनो, 'matha' here meaning मथन and refering to Śiva. Another possible reconstruction on the basis of the variants in the manuscripts is त्रिपुरमपि रथस्स काञ्चनो. In either of these cases, the word अचल having been removed from the third foot, the reading अद्रिः has to be retained in the last quarter. But it must be said that editorial conscience is not easy and the line has to be discussed further.

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A METRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA* (II)

BY

C. R. SWAMINATHAN

[मत्स्यपुराणे प्रयुक्तानां छन्दसामालोचनात्मकनिबन्धस्यायं द्वितीयो भागः प्रकाश्यते, अस्य प्रथमो भागस्तु पूर्वं प्रकाशितः । तत्र प्रथमे भागे आनन्दश्रममुद्रितमत्स्यपुराणस्य १३३ अध्यायस्य ६८ श्लोकपर्यन्तं छन्दसां विचारः कृतः, अस्मिन् द्वितीये भागे १३३ अध्यायस्य ६९ श्लोकत आरभ्य १६९ अध्यायस्य ४५ श्लोकपर्यन्तं विचारः प्रस्तुतः । कुत्रचित्स्थलेषु छन्दोऽनुरोधेनार्थानुरोधेन च पाठसंशोधनमपि कृतम्, तदपि च प्रायः कोशसाक्ष्यानुसारेण, यथा १३८ अध्यायस्य २१,५२ स्लोकयोः क्रमेण चतुर्थे तृतीये च पादे ।]

Ch. 133-69.

Chapter 133 ends with two verses describing the Pramathagaṇas surrounding the chariot of Śiva and the chariot itself proceeding for the encounter with Tripuras. The ĀSS. edition notes that one of its manuscripts does not have these four lines. Of our manuscripts, five of the North do not have all the four lines. The difficulty about v.69 is that while its first half as well as the two halves of 70 that follow are all in correct Aparavaktra, the second half of 69 alone is cast in the measure of the second pāda of Puṣpitāgrā. The variants available for the second half are of no moment, as they do not entail any change in the character of the syllables. That is, according to all the manuscripts, this line would be in Pushpitāgrā (second pāda) and we have to accept a metrical mixture for 69.

Regarding 69 a-b in Aparavaktra, all the manuscripts except four show the same metre, despite the variations in the words. In four manuscripts, 69a above is read with eleven syllables करिवराञ्जनमेघसन्निभाः : and 69b is read in three manuscripts out of these four, as having eleven syllables. सजलपयोदधिनिस्वनाः. But a metrical pattern of the Ardhasama

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class or of the Viṣama class having 11-11 or 11-12, answering to the one in discussion is not known. It would therefore be necessary to accept on the manuscript evidence a mixture of Aparavaktra and Puṣpitāgrā here.

A few verses above, in v.66, the Pramathas who were following Śiva are described as being of the colour of fire and flames. प्रमथाश्चाग्निवर्णाभाः साग्निज्वाला इवोल्मुकाः ।

On the basis of this we should take 69a-b as comparing the Pramathas to elephants, mountains or clouds only in points of size and noise, and not in colour. We may therefore discount the reading in four manuscripts bringing in अञ्जन among the comparisons. To support further, this rejection of 'Añjana' we have in eight manuscripts, as also in the ĀSS. the inclusion of Ravi among the objects compared which accords with the earlier description in verse 66.

Ch. 134 ends with three Puṣpitāgrā verses all of which are correct except for the closing pāda of the middle verse, which reads in the ĀSS-मदनार्यन्धकयज्ञदेहघातम्. The ĀSS itself notes two manuscripts as reading it in correct Puṣpitāgrā as यममदनान्धकयज्ञदेहघातम्. A reading of this type, whatever its literary variation, should be restored here. In our manuscripts none has got the reading as in ĀSS, though in two manuscripts, owing to corruption, the metre is affected by mistakes of the scribe.

In verse 69, there is a mixture of Upajāti (First half) and Vaṁśastha (second half). Though the preceding and the succeeding lines are in the Vaṁśastha, manuscripts do not give any readings to alter the Upajāti of the first half into Vaṁśastha.

135-71c :

71a, b, d are in correct Vaṁśastha while 'c' alone has an Indravajrā-beginning according to the ĀSS. All manuscripts read 'c' also as a correct Vaṁśastha though the Anvaya of the line as Vaṁśastha is not clear; the Vaṁśasth-readings introduce two रिपुs and two बलs in c, d and the construction becomes difficult. Except in one manuscript, the opening word of the Vaṁśastha-reading is वल. Of these, four read the word in instrumental plural and the rest in accusative singular. These four readings with बलैः read also अभिरक्षितं as अविक्षतं–

वलै रिपूणां प्रवरैरविक्षतम् ।

It is probably to avoid this difficulty of construing two that the ĀSS text reads एते in the बलं or बलैः.

135-73c, d :

73c, d, introduce a metrical mixture, 'c' having an Indravajrā-opening and 'd' being a regular Upendravajrā-line. In our manuscripts which have this line there are, no doubt, some variants but none that effects any improvement from the metrical view-point. Some of our other manuscripts omit this line and read 'c' as–

तदुल्बणं ध्वान्तमुदग्ररोचिषा and 'd' as प्रद्योततास्त्रेण तदैव देवराट् (or विपातयामास शरेण सादरम्)

There is much confusion in this portion and even the Āss notes variations and additions from 'd' onwards.

133-78d.

यथैव इन्द्राशनयः पतन्त्यः shows a hiatus. In all the manuscripts compared, the hiatus has been removed but in a variety of ways, some introducing a 'च' after यथैव.

135-82.

In 82 a, b and d are in Upendravajrā and 'c' alone in Vaṁśastha. In 'a' the metre is broken by the word and only one of our manuscripts, the Grantha manuscript from Trivandrum, avoids this by regarding the line as श्रुत्वा मयस्येति स तारकाक्षः

Regarding 'c' which alone is Vaṁśastha in ĀSS, most of our manuscripts read only Indravajrā, with a corresponding omission of the word अदित्याः विवेश तूर्णं त्रिपुरं सहैव दितेस्सुतैर्युद्धविवृद्ध (धृंतप्र, कृतप्र, विवृत्त, प्रवृत्त) हर्षैः

136-63.

The verse in ASS. reads 'b' and 'd' in correct Aparavaktra, 'c' in correct Puṣpitāgrā, but 'a' alone does not answer precisely to any metre. Fourteen of our manuscripts which have this verse, read the whole verse as Puṣpitāgrā with slight differences in the words from the literary stand-point :

रथचरणकरोऽप्यवाप्य (प) युद्धे, वृषभवपुर्वृषभेन्द्रपुत्रपूज्यः ।
दितितनयबलं विमर्द्य सर्वं, त्रिपुरपुरं प्रविवेश केशवोऽपि ॥

It may be added in support that the next verse is also in Puṣpitāgrā.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that only 8 Mss. have these two verses 63 and 64 as in ĀSS. and 11 read here instead the following Anushṭubh conveying the same idea, though with some variants is the words, among themselves. In two mss. both the ĀSS reading and the Anushṭubh readings are found. In one ms. neither reading is found.

ततो वृषवपुर्विष्णुः तत्पुरं प्रविवेश ह ।
तत्रामृतरसां वापीं कृत्वा ज्वलनमण्डिताम् ॥
शतपत्रवनाढ्यां च कर्पूरक्षोदगन्धिनीम् ।
पपौ संमोह्य दैत्येन्द्रान् वृषरूपधरो हरिः ॥

137-29 :

Here 'a' are in Aparavaktra. We may leave the whole verse as it is in ĀSS as an example of the usual mixture of metres, for the evidence of the manuscripts is very varied and confused: several attempting a wrong Mālinī-ardha and others different defective lines akin to Viyoginī, Aparavaktra, Puṣpitāgrā etc. In two manuscripts, an additional marginal variant noted reads a correct Mālinī-ardha. Any solution to be offered on the basis of these would fail to restore Viyoginīpādas for 'c' and 'd'. In the Grantha manuscript and three Devanāgarī Mss. from Tanjore (T1, T8 and T6), 'd' alone is read as Viyoginī, though among themselves they have difference of readings प्रतिशब्दांश्च विनेदुरुल्वणाः, the 'c' being defective. As a metrical mixture for this verse is inevitable, we may leave that mixed pattern as it is in ĀSS. Most of the words of 'c' as in ĀSS occur in all the variants of our manuscripts. Of the words in 'd' विविध, बल and नद in different forms are found in most manuscripts though in different order and घन also in a few.

137-30 : -

Reference was made above to some of our manuscripts, trying to read 29 c, d in Mālinī. In nine of our Manuscripts a stray Mālinī foot is found as a substitute for 30a only.

असुरवरपुराणां दारणे (पातने, मारणे) वद्धकक्षाः

instead of असुरवरपुरेऽपि दारुणो [जळधररावमृदङ्गगह्वरः] of the ĀSS. In other manuscripts, this pāda, as well as the three others, shows many variants but there is no ground to construct the pādas in a metre different from Aparavaktra in which they are found in ĀSS.

137-31 :

Similarly for 31a also a Mālinī reading is found in four manuscripts (U-2, U-1, T-7, T-0) :

अथ भुवनपतीशः सर्वथाऽसौ (सर्वदासौ, सर्वदेशः) सुराणाम् instead of : अथ भुवनपतिर्गतिः सुराणाम् ।

137-32 :

This verse opens with an address to Śiva as the leader of the divine hores. Consequently the text of the previous verse as read in the ĀSS particularly in 31c, is to be read with an inter-change of the nominative and the accusative, i. e., as त्रिदशगणपतिं ह्युवाच शक्रः 32 and 33a, b would be Indra's address to Śiva. The verse is in Puṣpitāgrā as printed in ĀSS and there is no difficulty of the metre except in 'b' where निकेतनं offends the metre by having its final syllable long. The difficulty is solved in nine of our manuscripts by simply omitting the Añusvāra and reading only निकेतन in an uninflected form. Five manuscripts face the difficulty of an uninflected निकेतन by variants for the two following words as निकेतनमर्णवो-परिष्टात् । On the whole there are sixteen manuscripts which read उपरिष्टात् to remove the difficulty of प्रविष्टाः without the accusative निकेतनम्. It is interesting to note that in many of these manuscritps reading : त्रिपुर-निकेतनदानवोपरिष्टात् or त्रिपुरनिकेतनमर्णवोपरिष्टात्, the first Pāda is amplified in two Pādas :

त्रिदशगणपते निबोध सम्यगेतत् त्रिपुरपुरं सहसैव भीतमेतत् (or सहसा सहैव भीतां (तं)) These two pādas would be metrically correct and might be retained, if we could reject the other pāda त्रिपुरनिकेतनदानवाः प्रविष्टाः A five-pāda verse could not be kept.

32 c, d, do not offer any metrical problems though there are some literary variants.

137-34 :

Verse 34 presents manifold difficulties. 'b' and 'd' of this verse are in twelve syllables in a pattern which answers to a Viyoginī plus one guru letter, which would be Subodhitā or Priyā according to Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana (v. 316). 'a' and 'c' are not in any recognisable pattern and between themselves too they have no agreement. 'c' could be restored to a Puṣpitāgrā with a slight change in the fourth syllable from a guru to a laghu. Five manuscripts have readings, though mutually divergent, supporting a Puṣpitāgrā. From the sense it would be proper to take this line along with the next verse as forming Śiva's speech to the Devas and Indra; and adopting the reading of one of our manuscripts, we could read this foot as–अभिभवत पुरं सदानवेन्द्रम् ।

'a' of course is the most difficult part of this verse. But from the sense it is clear that along with 'b', it refers to the Devas taking their stand at the sea. It could not be a reference to the demons taking their stand there. Most of our manuscripts read the foot as having a correct Puṣpitāgrā–ending with तनूजाः and two manuscripts read अदितेः three

manuscripts which read परिगणयन्तोदितेः may also be supposed to read अदितेः. The word परिगणयन्तः is really perplexing as there is nothing to cogitate here. It may be that the element गण refers more to their forming together into a battalion, a sense in which 'Gaṇa' occurs in the earlier verses. A text meaning "collecting together round Śiva, the Devas took their stand at the head of the sea" would appear to be alright in the context and though unsupported by manuscripts we may read the middle part of this pāda as इति परिगणशः । Thus the whole verse would be–

इति परिगणशोऽदितेस्तनूजाः
अवतस्थुर्लवणार्णवोपरिष्टात् ।
अभिभवत पुरं सदानवेन्द्रं
शरवर्षैर्मुसलैश्च वज्रमुख्यैः ॥

137-34 :

This verse is in Aparavaktra in 'a' 'b' and 'd'. 'c' alone in ĀSS is printed as a Puṣpitāgrā. Three of our manuscripts including the 'Śāradā', have an Aparavaktra for 'c' also–असुर-वर (पुर) वधार्थमुद्यतः But there has been in the manuscripts a more wide-spread effort to convert the Aparavaktra feet to Puṣpitāgrā. Strangely even the 'Śāradā' which retains a correct Aparavaktra, for 'c' is found adding a final syllable and effecting Puṣpitāgrā in 'a' and 'b'. There is, however, no uniformity in this attempt and the final syllable added discloses a palpably lame effort. We may therefore retain for the whole verse the Aparavaktra-readings.

137-36 :

This verse is also to be taken as Aparavaktra, 'a' is correct as printed in ĀSS; 'b' has one letter in excess and also other defects in the syllables. A larger number of Manuscripts read it correctly in Aparavaktra as दशशतनेत्रवपुः समुद्यतः । 'c' and 'd' are both correct as printed.

138-21 :

21d–तथैव क्रन्दन्ति विभिन्नदेहाः is in faulty Upajāti. In the verse, the battle in the sea is described and for every act of the fighters, an act of the sea animals also is mentioned in apposition. In the first half, the Pramathas and the Timis are described alike as whirling. In the second half also we expect therefore a similar description; in 'c' the fighters are said to tear each other, and in 'd' as printed, no sea-animals are mentioned. But it is said that those torn were screaming. The bulk of the manuscripts collated actually, 21 manuscripts read क्रन्दन्ति which spoils the metre. In nine of

them क्रन्दन्ति is preceded by गात्राणि as object of छिन्दन्ति in 'c'. Correspondingly they introduce a variation in the end to supply the displaced तथैव and read तथैव क्रुद्धाः; thus resulting in a double defect of the metre. गात्राणि क्रन्दन्ति तथैव क्रुद्धाः । From the evidence of four manuscripts, we can restore a line which is both metrically correct and rhetorically suited to the other parts of verse गात्राणि कृन्तन्ति तथैव नक्राः ।

138-25 :

25c, d read देवारिणस्तस्य पुरस्य द्वारं
ताभ्यां तु तत्पश्चिमतो निरुद्धम्

The word द्वारं at the place where it is, creates a metrical difficulty. Except four, all our other manuscripts read in 'd', two पश्चिमs meaning that Yama and Kubera took their stand against the Western gate at the back (of the city). As it is, the printed line adopts the passive voice. About ten manuscripts read न्यरुन्धन् in active but in plural, while we want here only dual. The reading न्यरुन्धन् may as well be a mistake for न्यरुन्धाम्, a correct dual and we can restore as तत्पश्चिमं पश्चिमत्तो न्यरुन्धाम् । Regarding 'c' the reading of the majority of manuscripts is against the metre.Only the Grantha and the London Malayalam Manuscripts read a metrically correct line–

द्वारं पुरस्यामरविद्विषां तं तत्पश्चिमं पश्चिमतोपरुद्धम्, which would be alright if we restore it as–द्वारं पुरस्यामरविद्विषस्तौ ।

138-28 :

28c–प्रक्षिप्य प्रक्षिप्य समुद्रमध्ये might be re-constructed on the basis of six manuscripts as प्रक्षिप्य चोक्षिप्य, or प्रक्षिप्य विक्षिप्य according to the Grantha manuscript. In passing, it may also be noted that without any metrical change समुद्रमध्ये is read as जलस्य मध्ये in the bulk of the manuscripts.

138-29 a,b.

Though metrically correct, the Anvaya of this line is not clear and will have to be considered later at the time of determining the text.

In 'c', again there is no metrical flaw, but the word गृहाणि in ĀSS. is syntactically difficult of interpretation. There are other readings for the word.

In 'd', भ्रातेति creates grammatical difficulty and we may adopt भ्रातश्च found in the two Ujjain manuscripts. But the latter word प्रियेति in the same line which creates a metrical difficulty, because of its initial conjunct

consonant cannot be reconstructed. for no manuscript offers a variant for it.

138-30a :

This is vitiated by a conjunct consonant in कलत्रपुत्रक्षयप्राणनाशे But most of the manuscrippts read जीव instead of प्राण, a reading which is noted also in the foot-note in ĀSS. In one manuscript (U2) there is a marginal variant note 1, which reads प्रिय instead of क्षय. This is obviously due to क्षय being taken as redundant with नाश. We may take क्षय also in the sense of house.

33d has an excess syllable in the ĀSS printed text. There are however, 16 manuscripts which do not have this and we can therefore read a correct Upajāti here –

युध्यन्ति शब्दं महदुद्गिरन्तः

36a has again a conjunct consonant in स तत्र प्राकारगतांश्च भूतान् । Except for the single manuscript P2 which changes the whole line and reads–स तत्र गत्वा all the other manuscripts have the metrical difficulty caused by प्र.

38d offers another example of the conjunct चतुर्मुखो यः स त्रिलोचनश्च hindering the metre. But here again, except in two manuscripts where an effort has been made to remove the drawback, all the other manuscripts read the pāda as it is with a metrical defect caused by the conjunct consonant त्रि.

138-48 :

The first pāda is in correct Puṣpitāgrā. The third pāda answers correctly to the even pāda of a Puṣpitāgrā. The fourth pāda agrees with Subodhitā or Priyā which, as already pointed out, is got by the addition of a guru at the end to the Viyoginī. The remaining even pāda (i.e. Pāda 2) offers difficulty in a single syllable. the sixth. If the 6th is short, instead of being long, as it is (i.e. श्रूयति for श्रूयते) it would accord perfectly with the last pāda, though it would involve a grammatical howler. It is read with a short syllable in three manuscripts, i.e. one Grantha and two Devanāgrī : नदतां श्रूयति भिन्नसागराभः We have thus here an odd metrical mixture. To make the third pāda answer to a correct even pāda of Puṣpitāgrā, we have to read the name of विद्युत्मालिन् in the former in which it is given, namely, तडिन्मालिन् as either तडिमालि in vocative or as तडिमाल as one manuscript actually reads it. Several manuscripts reads it as मालि in Vocative वद वचनं तडिमालि (ल) किं किमेतत् will be the restored line.

49a is in Puṣpitāgrā. 'b', as it is, is obviously modelled as 48d, Subodhita, i.e. Viyoginī plus one Guru. But it wants one syllable and is defective in another syllablc—तडिमालौ रविरिवांशुमाली The printed line is of course appropriate from the point of view of the meaning. Five manuscripts re-construct this line with रविरेव सोंशु (सांशु) माली which is metrically alright. Another metrically correct restoration found in three manuscripts is रुचिरो यशोंशुमाली which reads better but by-passes the comparison of रवि which seems to be authentic.

49 c-d. follows the pattern to which we are now accustomed, namely the odd Puṣpitāgrā plus Viyoginī with a Guru for the even pāda.

50a. represents a correct Puṣpitāgarā. For the first time in this series the Puṣpitāgrā is followed for the even pāda also. Though in the ĀSS printed text this is effected by the syllables निधिर्धीर in the middle, the metrically correct reading तव यशसां निधिरेष तारकाख्य: may be restored as in some of the manuscripts. The third pāda is correct as Puṣpitāgrā. The fourth reads in the ĀSS–(युद्ध्वा यस्तपति हि तारको गणेन्द्रै:) as a Praharshiṇī foot but a correct Puṣpitāgrā could be restored so as to fit in with the sense also युधि पतितस्य तु नन्दिना निरस्त:, It must be mentioned in passing that in the confusion the manuscripts easily succumbed to produce, with variants, a Mālinī for the second half of this verse. For the first half also an attempt to turn into Mālinī is seen but it is confined to the two Ujjain manuscripts.

51. follows the pattern which we have noted more than once of a combination of Puṣpitāgrā and an augmented Viyoginī.

52. The first pāda is in the pattern of the even foot of Puṣpitāgrā as in 48 c.b and d are as usual Viyoginī with the added guru. 'c' alone gives some trouble as it does not fall into Puṣpitāgrā or Drutavilambita or any other recognisable metre. Most of the manuscripts read here रणशिरसि सिताञ्जनाचलाभ: which however makes collirium white (सिताञ्जन) which is not possible. There is one manuscript which reads रणशिरसि तमञ्जजनावभास: but if we take the suggestion from this we can restore the line with less verbal change as follows–रणशिरसि तमञ्जनाचलाभो

56. It reads the second half as a correct Puṣpitāgrā. But the first half is defective in both pādas. The concluding words of the verse सुराऽवतस्थु: should be taken as सुरा: वतस्थु: with the अ of अव dropped, according to Bhāguri's sanction. The first pāda may be restored on the basis of the variants of larger incidence as अथ करकमृदङ्गवाद्य (शृङ्ग, वंश, शंख) घोषै:.

139-25 :

The first and the third pādas in the Upajāti here, are affected by a conjunct consonant द्रूतं in 'a' and प्रियां in 'c'. Unfortunately the variants

available for 'a' (हृतं and दिहृतं) in three manuscripts do not help; but in 'c', the difficulty created by the conjunct consonant has been oviated by several variants : तां च प्रियां in ĀSS is available in the following variants–प्राणसमां; तां प्रियकां; तां दयितां; and प्राणसमां is the variants of largest incidence and may be adopted.

139-29 :

The second pāda reads in ĀSS as विमार्गितान्या च प्रियं प्रसन्ना. Of our manuscripts, *ten* retain readings which have the idea of one of the ladies, having become favourably disposed, was searching (विमृग्) for her lover. On the other hand no less than *ten* give up the idea of the lady searching her lover; and following up the idea in the first pāda say that having herself drunk she made her lover also drink; i.e. in the place of विमार्गिता or विमार्गति we have a reading

अपाययत् प्रीतिपरा (प्रीतमनाः) प्रियं च

It is really difficult to make a choice between these two ideas of searching the lover or making him also drink, as the evidence seems to be equal on either side. Removing the metrical difficulty caused by the conjunct consonant प्रियं in ĀSS. We may read the line either as

अपाययत् प्रीतिपरा (प्रीतमनाः) प्रियं च or
विमार्गतिऽन्या प्रियकं प्रसन्ना (प्रयत्नात्)

139-43 :

As read in the ĀSS, the second and third pādas of this verse are in 'Śālinī'; the first pāda mixes 'Śālinī' and Upajāti and the fourth pāda is in pure Upajāti. The evidence of the manuscripts would lead to the restoration of a complete Upajāti rather than to the maintenance of Upajāti-cum-Śālinī. But even so the clue given by the variants is not clear enough. For, with the exception of one manuscript which reads भिन्न, all the others read छिन्न. And whether it is छिन्न or भिन्न, the Upajāti is all the same spoiled. In ĀSS itself, in the foot-note, an attempt to re-construct the Upajāti for the whole Ardha is to be seen–

आन्दोलनाद् भ्रंशितछिन्नसूत्रकाञ्चीकलापच्युतरत्नकीर्णः

However, here also छिन्न is not eliminated. From this we may generally observe that the North-Indian scribes often failed to note the metrical difficulty created by a conjunct consonant which converts the previous

laghu into guru. In the course of our foregoing examination, we have drawn attention to this as a rather persisting tendency.

139-45 :

As printed in ĀSS. this verse reads the second, third and fourth pādas in correct Puṣpitāgrā, but for the first pāda alone it has a finally augmented Viyoginī. A larger number of manuscripts do not read in the first pāda a mere पुरे but have त्रिपुरपुरे which would support a Puṣpitāgrā re-construction. A reading इति त्रिपुरपुरेऽमरद्विषाणां would offend both metre and grammar, the conjunct consonant त्रि being detrimental metrically and द्विषाणां being grammatically unsound. Only a tentative re-construction is possible out of the sum-total of the words available in the variants which may read in correct Puṣpitāgrā :

त्रिपुरपुर इति द्विषां सुराणां

The last foot, though metrically alright, creates a difficulty in grammar, namely the Visandhi between ....क्षया and अरीणम्. However, besides ĀSS. eleven manuscripts support this reading. Twelve manuscripts substitute भवतुरगैः with दनुदितिजान्, transferring the idea of अरि from the end of the line to the beginning. This they do obviously to make the sense that the moon laughed at the demons and therefore insert the idea of हास at the end of the line. Such a variant is due to a clear misunderstanding of the sense. What is meant by the text is that along with the demons who went down in the battle, the moon or moon-light also, at the end of the night, went down. Further दनुदितिजांन्, an accusative plural, cannot be kept, as a genitive plural is required. Two manuscripts which realise this difficulty read hyper-metrically दनुदितिजनुषां which can go only as an odd Puṣpitāgrā foot and not an even one. In view of all this confusion भवतुरगैः कृतसंक्षया अरीणां resting on the ĀSS and eleven of our manuscripts may be retained, with its visandhi.

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THE LAND OF THE KAMBOJAS*

BY

D.C. SIRCAR

[प्राचीनभारते उत्तरापथवर्त्तिजनपदेषु कम्बोजानां स्थितिः कुत्रासीदितिविषये विदुषां नास्त्यैकमत्यम् । अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य कस्मिंश्चिद्भागे कम्बोजजनपद आसीदित्यनेकेषां विदुषां मतम्, पामीरप्रदेशस्य गाल्चाभाषाभाषिणां क्षेत्रमेव कम्बोज-जनपद आसीदित्यपि केचिन्मन्यन्ते । लेखकमहोदयेन पुनरस्मिंल्लेखे इमानि मतानि सम्यक् समीक्ष्य अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य दक्षिणभागे यवनैः सह कम्बोजानां निवास आसीदिति प्रतिपाद्यते ।

बौद्धकाले प्रसिद्धानां षोडशानां जनपदानां मध्ये गन्धाराणां कम्बोजानां चाप्युल्लेखो वर्त्तते, यवनास्तु न तत्र प्रोक्ताः । परन्तु मौर्यकाले अशोकशिलालेखेषु क्वचित् यवनानां, क्वचिद् यवनकम्बोजानां, क्वचिच्च यवनकम्बोजगन्धाराणां सहैव समुल्लेखो वर्त्तते । महाभारतेऽपि यवनकम्बोजगन्धाराणां सहैव उल्लेखः प्राप्यते । पुराणानां भुवनकोशवर्णने यवना गन्धाराश्च सहैव, कम्बोजाश्च पुनः पृथगुच्यन्ते ।

उत्तरापथे मौर्यकाले यवनानां प्राधान्यमभवत् । अशोकस्य कंदहारशिलालेखो ग्रीकभाषायां ग्रीकलिप्यां च, एवम् आरमैकभाषायामूआरमैकलिप्यां च लिखितो विद्यते । ग्रीकलिप्यां लिखितो ग्रीकभाषाऽभिलेखस्तु अशोकस्य यवनप्रजार्थमासीदिति स्पष्टमेव । परन्तु तेन सहैव वर्त्तमानः आरमैकलिप्याम् आरमैकभाषायां च लिखितोऽभिलेखः कम्बोजप्रजानामर्थ एव भवितुमर्हति, अशोकशिलालेखेषु यवनकम्बोजानां सहैवोक्तत्वात् ।

महावंशाख्यबौद्धग्रन्थोल्लिखितं यवनानां 'अलसन्द' नगरम् अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य दक्षिणभागे वर्त्तमानम् आधुनिकं कंदहारनगरम् आसीदिति मन्यते । अतो यवनजनपदेन सह संलग्नः कम्बोज-जनपदोऽपि तत्रैव अफगानिस्तानदक्षिणभागे स्थित आसीदित्यनुमातुं शक्यते । कम्बोजाश्च मूलतः ईरानप्रदेशीया आसन्नित्यपि विदुषां मतम् ।]

There has been considerable speculation on the location of the country of the well-known Kamboja people in the Uttarāpatha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa. Wilson located it in the Ghazni region to the south of Kabul,[1] and N.L. Dey in 'Afghanistan, at least its northern part.'[2] Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (IV. 165-66) mentions the Kambojas along with

*. Purāṇa, Vol. V. No. 2 (July 1963) pp. 251-257.

1. JASB, 1838, pp. 252, 267.

2. Geog. Dict., S.V.

the Tukhāras of the upper Oxus valley including Balkh and Badakhshan, and Stein identifies the Kamboja country with the eastern part of Afghanistan.[3] H.C.Raychaudhuri places this land in the areas extending from Rajauri to the south of Kashmir in the east to Kafiristan in Eastern Afghanistan in the west.[4] Among recent writers on the subject, Lassens' location of the Kambojas in the Ghalcha-speaking areas of the Pamirs has been accepted by many,[5] while C.A. Lewis has supported the location of the people in Kafiristan in the pages of this journal.[6]

The evidence in favour of the various suggestions lacks definiteness with the exception of the theory of Raychaudhuri who draws our attention to a passage in the Mahābhārata (VII. 4, 5), according to which Karṇa defeated the Kambojas at Rajapura. Raychaudhuri identifies this Rajapura with Rajauri mentioned as Ho-lo-she-pu-ao (Rājapura) by Hiuentsang.[7] Unfortunately the evidence loses its definite character if the expression *rajapura* in the *Mahābhārata* is understood in the sense of rājadhānī or the capital city of Kambojas. Even otherwise, the identification of Rājapura of the Mahābhārata with Rajauri cannot possibly be regarded as certain.

The most significant fact about the mention of the Kamboja people in the early literary and epigraphic records of India is that they are usually associated with the Yavanas and often with both, the Yavanas and Gandhāras. Among the Rock Edicts of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.), Rock Edict V has Yavana-Kamboja-Gandhāra[8], while we have Yavana-Kamboja in Rock Edict XIII with the omission of Gandhāra[9]. The Mahābharata (XII. 207; 43) agrees with Aśoka's Rock Edict V in mentioning Yauṅa (Yavana)-Kamboja-Gandhāra.

The Assalāyanasutta of the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhimanikāya* (43.1.3) not only speaks of Yavana-Kamboja but also that the same social system prevailed in the western countries including the lands of the

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3. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī, Vol. I, p. 136, notes.
4. Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., 1938, pp. 125 ff.
5. Cf. above, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 172; see also Jayachandra, Bhārata bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī, Saṁvat 1987, pp. 297 ff; Motichandra Geog. Econ. Stud, 1945, pp. 32 ff; V.S. Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini. 1953, pp. 48-49; etc.
6. Purāṇā, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 133 f.
7. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 284.
8. Hultzsch, CII Vol. I, pp. 191-92.
9. Ibid, p. 211.

Yavanas and Kambojas, It is stated that in the areas in question, instead of the catur-varṇa, there were only two social grades, viz the nobleman and the serf[10]. A similar information is supplied by Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka which says, "There is no country cxcept the land of the Yavanas where these classes do not exist, viz. the Brāhmanas and the Śramaṇas[11]. According to the Harivaṁśa (I.14.16) and a number of the Purāṇas,[12] another custom peculiar to the Yavanas and Kambojas was that both had shaven heads.

The above facts suggest that the Kambojas were intimately associated with the Yavanas and the Gandhāras. Particularly with the former, and it may be supposed that all three of them lived in contiguous areas of Uttarāpatha in the age of the Mauryas. But the Aśokan records speak sometimes of the Yavanas alone, sometimes of the Yavanas in the company of the Kambojas or of the Kambojas and the Gandhāras. There is no doubt that the inscriptions give prominence to the Yavanas who were apparently the most important people of the northwestern province of the Maurya empire. But whether the absence sometimes of Gandhāras and sometimes of both the Gandhāras and Kambojas from the references to the Yavanas suggests that the Kamboja and Gandhāra lands were at times broadly included in the Yavana country cannot be determined from the above Aśokan epigraphs. Of course in the age of the Indo-Greeks, as we know from the *Milindapañho*, the Yavana country included Alasanda (usually located near Kabul) and Śākalā (modern Sialkot in the Punjab).[13] Another fact to be remembered in this connection is that, before the rise of the Yavanas to prominence in Uttarāpatha, the most important peoples of that region were the Gandhāras and the Kambojas. This is indicated by the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas flourishing in the age of the Buddha as enumerated in the Aṅguttaranikāya (VII. 5.3 and 5), which mentions the Gandhāras and Kambojas but omits the Yavanas.

The Aṅkuravatthu section of the Petavatthu (verses 257-58) suggests that there was a direct caravan route between Dvārakā (Dvāravatī) in

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10. Yona-Kambojesu Aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dv = eva vaṇṇā Ayy c=eva Dāso ca/Ayyo hutvā Dāso·hoti Dāso hutvā Ayyo hot=iti.
11. Hultzsch, op. cit, p. 209.
12. see, e.g. Vāyu Purāṇa, 88, 140; etc.
13. Cf. Malalasekhera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, S.V.

Kathiawar and the country of the Kambojas[14]. There is also doubt that the Kamboja capital was directly connected with the capital of Gandhāra and of some other Mahājanapadas by an easy route. Now, of the three important peoples living in Uttarāpatha during the Maurya age, viz. the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras, the third is definitely known to have inhabited the modern Rawalpindi-Peshawar region of West Pakistan, since two of the most important Gandharan cities of the early period were Takṣaśilā in the Rawalpindi District and Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī in the Peshawar District.[15] This consideration seems to go against the location of the Kamboja country in the Pamirs. Another important fact, generally forgotten, is that the territory called Bactria or Bactriana by the Greeks and Bāhlīka by the Indians formed no part of the Maurya empire. This land, bounded by the Hindu Kush in the south and east and by the Oxus in the northeast and having its headquarters at the site of modern Balkh in Northern Afghanistan, was province of the Seleucid empire till the middle of the third century B.C., when it became and independent kingdom under Diodotus I. This fact suggests that the Pamirs lying beyond Hindu Kush also lay outside the empire of Aśoka. It is therefore impossible to believe that Aśoka's Kamboja subjects lived in the Pamirs. We have now also to think of the light thrown on the problem by the recently discovered Kandahar inscription of Aśoka.

According to the Mahāvaṁsa (XXIX, 40), the chief city of the Yavana country was Alasanda or Alasaudā which has been identified with Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul.[16] According to the *Milindapañho*,[17] the Dvīpa or Dwab of Alasanda was two hundred Yojanas from Śākala, capital of the Yavana king Milinda

14. Yassa atthāya gacchāma Kambojam dhana-hārakā /
* * *
Yānam āropayitvāna khippaṁ gacchāma Dvārakam //

15. Gandhāra-viṣaye siddhe tayoḥ puryau mahātmanaḥ /
Takṣasya dikṣu vikhyātā ramyā takṣaśīā purī /
Puṣkarasya=āpī vīrasya vikhyātī Puṣkarāvatī // (Vāyu Purāṇa, 88. 189-90). See also Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 114. 11; H. C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit. pp. 50 ff., pp. 124-25. Hiuen-tsang speaks of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) as the capital of Gandhāra (Watters, op. cit., pp. 198-99), while Al-Bīrūni mentions Vaihand (Udabhānda or Und) as its capital (Sachau, Alberuni's India, Part I, p. 259).

16. Geiger, Mahāvaṁśa, p. 194.

17. Ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83.

(i.e. the Indo-Greek king Menander who flourished about the close of the second century B.C.), the Distance between Śākala and Kashmir being only twelve Yojanas. The Kandahar Edict[18] of Aśoka has two versions. One of which is written in the Greek language and alphabet. There is no doubt that this part of the Edict was meant for Aśoka's Yavana or Greek subjects who lived in Afghanistan, particularly in the Kandahar reigon. Thus the concentration of the Greek population in the Maurya empire was in the said area. Since the name of Kandahar is derived from the Greek name Alexandria ('Alexandria among the Arachosians' founded by Alexander), it is possible to think that Alasanda of the Mahāvaiṁśa is identical with Kandahar. The Dwab of Alasanda may therefore be the land between the Helmund and Tarnak rivers in Southern Afghanistan.

The other version of the Kandahar Edict is written in the Aramaic language and script which were popular with the Achaemenian administration. Aramaic was also introduced in the north-western areas of the Indian sub-continent when they were conquered by Darius I about the close of the sixth century B.C., and it is well-known that the Kharostī alphabet used in the Aśokan Edicts in the Peshawar and Hazara Districts which are written in the Indian Prakrit language is an Indian modification of the Aramaic script.

But who are the people for whom the Aramaic version of Aśoka's Kandahar Edict was intended? Apparently they were Iranians living in the Maurya empire, and considering the close association of the Yavanas and Kambojas in Aśokan epigraphs, there can be no doubt that it was the Kambojas for whom the Aramaic version of the Kandahar Edict was meant. That the Kambojas were of Iranian extraction was long ago suggested.[19]. They were settled in the Afghanistan region in Uttarāpatha. Their numbers were occasionally swelled by new migrants from Iran, especially during the age of the Achaemenians. Their main concentration was specially in Southern Afghanistan, where they appear to have lived side by side with the Yavanas. Of course, this does not prove that some of

18. Ep. Ind., Vol XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.
19. Cf. JRAS, 1912, pp. 255-57; ling. Surv. Ind. Vol. X, pp. 456-57.

the Kambojas did not live elsewhere in the Maurya empire even during the reign of Aśoka or that some of them did not migrate to other areas at later dates.

We have seen how originally the Gandhāras and Kambojas were the most important peoples in Uttarāpatha and how, after Alexander's conquest, the Yavanas became more prominent in that area. Another interesting fact is that, with the advent of the Śakas on the scene, on the decline of the Indo-Greeks, they were often more closely associated with the Yavanas, and the joint mention of Śaka-Yavana became popular.[20] The culture of the Gandhāras and Kambojas appears to have been modified due to their contact with the Yavanas even in the Maurya age, though later it underwent further modification as a result of the occupation of Uttarāpatha successively by the Śakas, Parthians and Kuśāṇas. We also see that, in the later lists of the peoples of Uttarāpatha, such as those found in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the Bhuvanakośa section of the Purāṇas, the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras are not usually mentioned in the same breath as in some of the older records, though two of them are sometimes placed side by side. Thus, while the *Manusmṛti* (X 43) omits the Gandhāras and has the Kambojas, Yavanas and Śakas in close proximity, the Bhuvanakośa puts the Yavanas by the side of the Gandhāras, and the Kambojas elsewhere.[21]

It appears that the location of the Kamboja country in the Pamirs has been somewhat influenced by Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 60ff.) which describes how Raghu left the land of the Pārasīkas or Sassanians in the western region and subjugated the countries in the northern areas of Bhāratavarṣa. In this region, Raghu first defeated the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṁkṣu (Oxus), i.e. in the Bālhīka country or Bactria, next

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20. See Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, II. 4, 10; Milinda-Pañho, p. 327; also Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava in a Nasik inscription (Sel. Ins., p. 197).

21. Cf. my stud. Geog. Anc. med Ind., p. 24. According to legends envisaging ethnic relations between the Yavanas and Gandharas, the Yavana, Gandhara and Mleccha people were descendants respectively of Yayāti's sons Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu (Matsya Purāṇa, 34, 50; 48, 6ff.).Gandhāra after whom the Gandhāra-viṣaya was named, is represented as the great-grandson of Druhyu who is sometimes also said to have been the progenitor of the Bhojas.

subdued the Kambojas and then ascended the Himalayas. In the Himalayas, he met the Kirātas (probably in Nepal), defeated the Utsavasaṅketas and other hill tribes, accepted the services and presents of the Himalayan peoples like the Kinnaras, and finally reached the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kamarūpa in the valley of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. Unfortunately the evidence is too vague for the exact location of the Kambojas in the Pamirs. It must also be admitted that the reference here is not to the age of the Mauryas whose empire, moreover, did not include the Pamirs.

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THE OLD-JAVANESE AGASTYAPARVAN*

BY

J. GONDA

[हालेण्डदेशनिवासिना डा. 'जे. गोन्डा' नाम प्रसिद्धविदुषा जावादेशे प्राप्तस्य 'अगस्त्यपर्व' नाम्नः प्राचीनग्रन्थस्य विषये विमर्शोऽत्र प्रस्तुतः। जावाद्वीपे भारतीय-संस्कृतिसम्बधिनो द्विविधाः प्राचीना ग्रन्थाः प्राप्यन्ते—मूलसंस्कृतग्रन्थानां जावाभाषान्तररूप-ग्रन्थाः, प्राचीनं भारतीयसंस्कृतवाङ्मयमनुसृत्य च रचिता ग्रन्थाः। जावा-ब्रह्माण्डपुराणमिव केचिद् ग्रन्था मूलसंस्कृतग्रन्थानामुद्धरणानि प्रदाय ततोऽनन्तरं तेषां जावाभाषान्तरं व्याख्यानं च (वा) चक्रुः। 'अगस्त्यपर्व' नाम जावादेशीयो ग्रन्थः एतामेव पद्धतिमनुसरति तस्य रचनाकालोऽनवगतः। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य श्रीगोन्डामहोदयेन संपादनं डचभाषान्तरं च कृतम् (१९३३-३६ ई.)। अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे गुरोरगस्त्यस्य स्वपुत्रेण दृढस्युना सह पौराणिकाः संवादा वर्त्तन्ते। अत्र बहूनि संस्कृतोद्धरणान्यपि सन्ति येषां विषयसाम्यं धर्म-शास्त्रगन्थ-महाभारत-पुराणादिभिः सह वर्त्तते, परन्तु कोऽप्येकः संस्कृतग्रन्थोऽस्य मूलत्वेन नाद्यावधि ज्ञातम्। अत्रोद्धृतानामनेकेषां संस्कृतश्लोकानां मूलमपि नोपलभ्यते। यद्यप्यत्र पौराणिकान्याख्यानानि वंशवर्णनानि च पुराणेष्विवैव वर्त्तन्ते, परन्त्वत्र कतिचिद् धार्मिका विषया असाधारणा अपि सन्ति। अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे दृढस्युकृतान् द्वाविंशतिप्रश्नाननुसृत्य त्रयोविशतिरध्यायाः। सन्ति। आद्याश्चत्वारोऽध्यायास्तु प्रास्ताविकाः, शेषेषु च ब्रह्म-र्षिवंशानां, प्रधानतो दक्षस्य तस्य संततेश्च, वर्णनं वर्त्तते, यत्रान्तराऽन्तरा बहून्या-ख्यानमिश्रितानि धर्म-दर्शन-नीतिविषयकाणि प्रवचनान्यपि सन्ति। किमेतानि प्रवचनानि प्रक्षेपरूपाणि उत मूलरूपाणि, कश्च संस्कृतग्रन्थोऽस्य मूलमित्यादयः प्रश्ना अप्यत्रोपस्थिता भवन्ति।]

Among the many ancient Javanese texts which are either translated from Sanskrit or deal with subjects borrowed from the Indian religious, juridical or traditional literature, and which therefore are of the highest importance for any student of Indian religion and literature, there are some which attract our special attention, or excite our interest because their Indian model or prototype has hitherto not been traced. Although it would be too much to hope that in the future we shall be able to detect the source or the author of any Old-Javanese passage written in Sanskrit, it may be recalled to mind that in the last decennium one of these vexing problems has been felicitously solved. We now know, by the joint efforts

*. Purāṇa, Vol. IV. No. 1 (January 1963) pp. 158-175.

of the Indian scholar Manomohan Ghosh and the Dutch professor Dr. C. Hooykaas, that the author of the great and famous Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (‡ 925A.D.) has, in about the first 65% of his work, followed Bhaṭṭi's version of the epic subject matter, that is to say the well-known Poem Bhaṭṭikāvya.[1] We now know also that the Javanese poet has, like his model, endeavoured also to make his work exemplary from the point of view of theoretical poetics by applying the rules of alaṁkāraśāstra.

It does not seem impossible that in the future more light may be shed on the origin and the composition of other Javanese works which, while dealing with Indian subject-matter, either follow, like the Rāmāyaṇa. Indian models and rules of composition, or consist, like the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa[2], largely of Sanskrit quotations followed by Javanese translations and (or) explanations. One of the texts belonging to the latter class–which may be given the general name of translational prose–is the so-called Agastyaparvan. This interesting Old-Javanese treatise, of unknown date and considerable length, was at the time edited and translated (into Dutch) by myself[3]. Filling, in print, about 60 pages, it consists in the usual way, of a conversation between a guru, *in casu* the famous sage Agastya, and a disciple or interrogator, his son Dṛḍhasyu. In this conversation the former does, of course, most of the talking. As to its contents and composition this book may, generally speaking, be called a work of the Purāṇa variety. Although the Agastyaparvan, like for instance also the Javanese adaptation of the parvans of the Mahābhārata, is interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, it is as yet impossible to say whether it was, like the Mahābhārata, Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa etc., modelled upon, or even meant to be an adapted version of a Sanskrit text. We are not even able to say whether it is a complete work or only part of a larger text. Although the contents of many passages can be, more or less easily, traced in Sanskrit works (Dharmaśāstras, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas), no single Sanskrit work or part of a larger work has come to my knowledge which is in the main identical with the contents of this Javanese document. And although part of the Sanskrit quotations do not differ much from similar ślokas in Indian books, there are exceptions, and the question may arise as to the source of these non-identified stanzas. Moreover, while part of the

1. See C. Hooykaas, in Madjalah untuk ilmu bahasa, ilmu bumi dan kibudajaan Indonesia 86 (Djakarta 1958).
2. See my article The Old. Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa in Purāṇa, II (1960), p. 252.
3. Agastyaparva, by J, Gonda, 's. Gravenhage 1933-1936 published by the institute v or de Tasl-, Land-en Volkenkunde, in the Bijdragen tot the Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, vol; 90; 94, and also separately in one volume.

contents are well-known paurāṇic myths, tales, genealogies etc., which remind us of parallels in the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, other passages, especially those of a more theological character, are not always well represented in Sanskrit literature, however much they resemble, in purport and character, and often also in detail, similar episodes in many Indian works of the epic, śāstric and paurāṇic varieties. In short, although there are other ancient Javanese deal, at least in part, with the same subject-matter–e.g, the Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan[4], the Koravāśrama[5]– the Agastyaparvan does not fail to confont us with intriguing problems.

The twenty-two questions put by young Dṛḍḥasyu suggest a convenient division in twenty-three chapters or paragraphs, not all of which are however strictly speaking completely relevant. After four introductory chapters, almost the entire book consists of a relation of the genealogy of the brahmarṣis, especially of Dakṣa and his offspiring. These genealogies, however, serve as a framework encompassing brief treatises of a didactic, theological or philosophical character–which however constitute the essential part of the subject-matter–,alternating with short stories or legends connected with one of the persons mentioned in the course of the author's expositions. The problem arises as to how the 'philosophical' passages were inserted in the genealogical and legendary framework; do the former constitute real insertions or was the text conceived as a whole ?

It would be convenient to insert here a some what abridged English translation of the Dutch table of contents which I composed in my above publication (Bijdr. T.L.V. 92, p. 338-340; separate publication p. 94-95) : Ch. I introduction, Agastya and his son hold a conversation. Ch. II : Dṛḍhasyu wishes to receive some information about the origin of the world; his father gives an exposition of creation and paralaya, of earth, atmosphere, heaven and subterranean worlds and abodes, of the well-known Sāṁkhya doctrine of the elements and their successive emanation. At the time of the Mahāpralaya the Lord Sadāśiva–the whole of the treatise is decidedly Śivaite in character–is the only being in existence. It is He who, wishing to create the universe, causes the elements to come into existence. Ch. III deals in a similar way with the origin of the brahmarṣis and the manus; Ch. with the manvantaras. In Ch. V the daughters of Dakṣa, their husbands and children are enumerated. Then the author proceeds to discuss, in Ch. VI, the causes and reasons for which beings go

4. Edited by J. Kats, The Hague 1910.
5. Edited by J. L. Swellengrebel, Thesis Leiden 1936.

to heaven or hell; the results of a sinful life are demonstrated by means of an explication of special sins and demerits. The journey of the ātman after death towards heaven or hell; the tortures of hell; reincarnation in accordance with one's merits or demerits in the previous earthly existence; the concepts of *tapas, yajña* and kīrti (a general term for founding buildings,parks, fountains etc. for religious purposes or for gaining religious merit) etc. are the subjects of Ch. VII; they are illustrated by examples and followed by an expatiation on those daughters of Dakṣa's who had not yet been made mention of, viz., the thirteen who married Kaśyapa. With reference to the eldest of them, Aditi, whose twelve children are enumerated, Dṛḍhasyu asks (Ch. VIII) for what reason these children of Aditi were gods. The cause of their divinity, Agastya answers, was the very character of their mother, a statement leading him to a general discussion of the characters of gods and saptarṣis. The genealogies of the children of Kaśyapa and the other daughters of Dakṣa, which is the next subject, is followed by some digressions on Indra who after slaying Prahlāda attempts to kill Diti's second child: he enters the body of the expectant mother, for which reason he is called Puraṁdara. Because of his brahmahatyā–the idea is explained–he cannot return to his heavenly abode; the brahmahtyā falls, as a thread, to the earth to be present, at night, in various fruits, milk, butter, and honey, and by day, in women. The genealogies are continued. In Chapter IX the character of Diti is said to be the cause of the daitya nature of her issue, which is compared with men and gods in respect of their mastering of the ṣaḍvarga (kāma, krodha, lobha etc.) In a similar way the character of the gandharvas is explained from that of their mother Prabhā (Ch. X). Vinatā's character is discussed in connection with her son Garuḍa. Mention is also made of Kadrū's offspring (Ch. XI), which consists of snakes a fact the cause of which is again said to lie in their moter's character. The genealogy is continued. When the yakṣas are mentioned, Agastya explains (Ch. XIII) why they are keepers of treasures. Thereupon the narrative passes on to the churning of the ocean, the ṣaḍvarga which are to be controlled by men and the origin of which lies in the antaḥkaraṇa (the well-known concept of Sāṁkhya philosophy). In Ch. XIV it is taught that the ahaṁkāra should be destroyed or nullified by Yoga. There follows an excursion on the so called *trikāya* paramārtha, i.e. the well-known group of *kāyika, vācika* and *mānasika* activities or *kāya. vāk* and citta. In a continuation of the genealogy (Ch. XV) the animals are, in a long passage, said to be the children of Pulaha. Some doctrines concerning reincarnation are added, with special reference to the question as to why a being may descend to

lower and lower births. Agastya then proceeds (Ch. XVI) to explain the deliverance of those who have sunk low. After other genealogical observations he makes some remarks on the biological contributions of fathers and mothers to the constitution of their children in general and on the rules of conduct to be observed during the cohabitation. After some comment (Ch. XVII) on the family of Dakṣa's son-in-law Bhṛgu, mention is made of Aurva and Paraśu-Rāma. The latter's intention was (Ch. XVIII) to reach the highest of the sixteen tattvas, viz. final emancipation. In a next paragraph the yoga required to reach the various stage and grades is described, and also (Ch. XIX) the conditions to be fulfilled by those who want to become devatās, among which are in the first place the three vratas (the so-called *akrodha, alobha, śokavarjita).*If one is not able to live up to these principles there is, Ch. XX says, another way, viz. rendering homage to a paṇḍita and being initiated by him. These observations are followed by a description of the qualities of persons who devote themselves to a religious and spiritual life, who want to be able and qualified gurus, etc. and by a passage on the *dīkṣā* and related subjects. In Ch. XXI Agastya deals with the offspring of Aṅgiras and Marīci's daughter Surūpā, in Ch. XXII with the other relatives of Pulastya who had also married ILā, daughter of *Tṛṇabindu*. In connection with the names of Raghu, Dilīpa, and Rāmabhadra in the ensuing genealogical account, Dṛḍhasyu asks how these kings behaved so that the world became happy and prosperous (Ch. XXIII). The answer is : they, and each of the caturvarṇa, followed the dharma. Here the text ends without adding, for instance, the statement that father and son discontinue their conversation.

As is well known many legends centre round the figure of the narrator Agastya, the sage and great champion of Aryan civilization in the South.[6] Part of these legends appear in the epics and purāṇas to preserve the memory of a vast and important cultural movement, the Hinduization of Southern India. Agastya was also worshipped in further India and Indonesia[7]. His role as a saint and as the promoter of Hinduization and preacher of Śivaism in the island of Java is well attested by epigraphy,

6. A. K. Nilakanta Sastri, a History of South India, Oxford 1955, p. 64 ff.; the same, History of India, 12, Madras 1953, p 170 f.; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, in R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, the History and Culture of the Indian people, II.2, Bombay 1953, p. 290 ff.

7. Nilakanta Sastri, South Indian Influences in the Far East, Bombay 1949 p. 59; 128 f.; 1.0; R.C. Majumdar, in Majumdar Pusalker, oc., IV, p. 418 ff.

sculpture and literature.[8] Mention may, for instance, be made of the Dinaya inscription (A.D. 760) recording how the ruler of East Java, who was a great devotee of the saint, made a fine abode for him, installing his image of black stone in the place of the wooden image set up by his ancestors. The Agastyaparvan however does not shed much light on the Javanese Agastya-worship, although it stands a fair chance of having enjoyed special popularity because of the prevalence of that worship in the archipelago.

The role played by the sage in the treatise under consideration is although unknown from other Indonesian texts, not uncommon in India. There are in India many works or episodes in which Agastya apears as the author, narrator or interrogator. Already in the Ṛgveda, no less than 27 hymns(1,165-171) are attributed to him. The Mahābhārata informs us of his marriage with Lopāmudrā and the birth of his son Dṛḍhasyu.[9] In Rāmāyaṇa the sage explains to Rāma the origin of the rākṣasas, adding a long genealogical account of their families (Rām. 7, 4 ff.) The cantos 1 - 36 of the VII book of the Rāmāyaṇa, being not intrinsically related to the main theme of the epic, essentially are a concatenation of 'ancient history' and genealogies, and as suh are of a 'paurāṇic' character. As to its form and composiion this section is an 'Agastyaparvan', because it is Agastya who after having, at the head of a delegation of ṛṣis approached Rāma, gives him the information wanted. In the same Uttarakāṇḍa Agastya is also the narrator of sargas 77-82 which may again be regarded as 'paurāṇic' : Daṇḍa, a descendant of Manu, interfered with a daughter of his purohita Uśanas who therefore cursed him so that he and his country were reduced to ashes. Did the original author of the Old-Javanese document under consideration draw on these passages or was he inspired by them to write a larger work on genealogies ?

In the Purāṇas there are also some episodes in which the sage appears as the narrator or as a studious listener. The beginning of the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa bears a striking resemblance to the introductory passage of the Uttarakāṇḍa. Another circumstantial account ascribed to Agastya occurs in the Varāhapurāṇa, 51 ff : here the sage relates, inter alia, the story of king Paśupāla, adding some instruction of Viṣṇu worship (vratas etc.), a legend dealing with Nārada, an account of

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8. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Agastya in den Archipel, Thesis Leiden 1926; Nilakanta Sastri, Agastya, in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal.-,Land-en Volkenkunde, utgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten on Wetenschappen 1936, 471 ff.
9. See A Holtzmann, Der heilige Agastya nach den Erzablungen des Mahābhārata, in Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft 34 (1889). p. 589 ff.

the conduct of the *Varṇas* in the different Yugas, on agamyāgamana and some stories in connection with the narrator himself. There is a considerable difference in content between this episode and the Javanese book; yet, the former could be considered an 'Agastyaparvan'. There is further a work that, passing under the name of Devīpurāṇa, is a semitāntric purāṇa, glorifying the power of the great goddess and professing to be revealed by Agastya to Nṛpavāhana; it is related to the ṛṣis by the muni Vaśiṣṭha. An Agastya-smṛti[10] lays down the rules for the acts and religious rites which a brahman should perform from the early morning until late into the evening. Agastya-sūtras expounding the bhakti of the Devī-Bhāgavata and bearing resemblance to the Nārada and Śāṇḍilya-sūtras were at the time (1897) studied in volume III of the Sanskrit Journal of Madras.[11] The Arabic author alberuni made mention of "the book Agastyamata, composed by Agastya, treating of the subject that in all investigations we must use the apperception of te senses as well as the tradition"[12]

As is well known, there are many texts which profess to belong to, or to form part, of, one of the purāṇas. One of these is an Agastyasaṁhitā in which the sage and his brother Sutīkṣṇa hold a conversation (sutīkṣṇāgastyasaṁvāda); according to its colophon,[13] it belongs to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and contains at least thirty-five chapters . Such a text has however not been incorporated into that purāṇa, as it is known to us from printed editions. And many 'Agastyasaṁhitās' are, in a similar way, said to form part of the conglomerate of traditions known as Skandapurāṇa. These writings deal, in a general way, with religious subjects, such as *prāyaścittas, śānti, mudrālakṣaṇas,* worship, *dharma*, religious traditions etc. The Old-Javanese work stands therefore a fair chance of being an adaptation of a Sanskrit text of this category, the orginal of which has hitherto remained obscure. In any case the Javanese treatise is, as to its spirit and contents, paurāṇic, this term to be taken in its wider sense. It does not only contain cosmology, ancient history, legends and genealogies, but also episodes of a philosophical and theological nature. At the same time it reminds us of that category of religious works which is known as āgamas, a technical term which even occurs in the text

10. A triennial Catalogue of mss., Madras 1913/4-1915/6, 1309, no. 994 h.
11. J. N, Farquhar, An outline of the Religious Literature of India, Oxford 1920, p. 262 and 359.
12. Alberuni, India, ed. Sachau (1887), p. 64; English translation by Sachau (1910), I, p. 132.
13. See A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss, Madras XVI, p. 6297, no. 8682.

itself–p. 382 (54); 389 (61); 391 (63)– expressing the sense of "traditional doctrine." Although this large body of literature is closely related to tantras, the evidence pointing to mutual borrowing and percolation of ideas, it would be incorrect to consider the Javanese Agastyaparvan a tantristic document or even to assume [14] that it may shed light on the origin and provenance of tantristic tenets and rites in the island of Java.

As already observed, the Javanese work is Śivaitic in character. It is Śiva who, as Sadāśiva, creates the universe and his name is repeatedly mentioned. The term Śivabhakti occurs in a Sanskrit stanza, the name Śivāditya is well known to the author. The god is however neither the author nor the narrator, a function ascribed to him by the authors of the tantras. No mention is made of the worship of Devī. In relating the creation of the world the prakriti is not identified with Śiva's śakti. The *pañcatattva, yantras, mudrās, nyāsas* and the doctrine of *mantras* are left undiscussed. In describing the varṇāśramas no mention is made of the sāmānyas. Such female divinities and personifications as Rati, Aditi, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Svadhā are not represented, as they are in the tantras, as partial incarnations of the Female Principle. If we follow the definition proposed by Sir John Woodroffe[15] : "where there is mantra, yantra, nyāsa, dīkṣā, guru and the like, there is Tantra Shāstra", the text cannot be described as written under the influence of Tāntrism. Only some passages may be said to tend towards Tantrism. For instance, whereas most of the tāntristic topics are absent. the high position of the spiritual teacher, the dīkṣā and the discussion of some rites point at least in that direction.

The paragraphs devoted, in Chapter XX, to the Guru and his functions are indeed of some interest because they clearly show the power and influence of the spiritual guide and importance of his position. He represents Sadāśiva. The qualities required to be a good guru are discussed at some length. One of his privileges is the initiation of the adepts (the dīkṣā), that is to say the admission into the religious community, the ordination by which the adepts are broght into immediate contact with the divinity. As a whole and in general however, the text represents from the point of view of dogmatics, that mixture of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta ideas which is characteristic of many Indian works of the paurāṇic variety; from the point of view of ethics it is, in the main, in agreement with the doctrines of Manu–whose name is mentioned–and the

14. With Dr. Th, G. Th. Pigeaud, De Tantu Panggelaran, Thesis Leiden 924, p. 325.
15. Sir John Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta 3. London 1929, p. 56.

Bhagavadgītā; it gives evidece of acquaintance with a fully developed yoga system on the basis of the general Hinduistic, and in particular Sivaite, conceptions.'

It seems however possible to determine the religious and literary position of the Old-Javanese work somewhat more precisely. Although the many (about 155) Sanskrit quotations which it contains are, Generally speaking, not identical with stanzas occurring in Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa version of the paurāṇic themes, the text itself not rarely reminds us of these two works. This is not strange because the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa was at least in part translated into Javanese. There is a considerable number of passages in which proper names, the sequence of the facts related and other details, while being different from the corresponding passages in the other sources, are in agreement with the Brahmāṇḍa–Vāyu texts. For instance, p. 349, 14 six of the twelve *sādhyas* are mentioned by name; these names look very much like those in Bmḍ, 2,3,17; Vā. 6.16; they do not however occur in other purāṇas. Moreover, the colophon points in this direction, because it says that the Agastyaparvan is a *piturun* of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. This Javanese word (incarnation, descendant") is no doubt intended to inform us that the text goes back to that purāṇa, or is an adaptation of subjectmatter contained in it. The question however remains as to which Agastyaparvan–the Javanese work or an Indian prototype–and which Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are meant for in a minority of cases the Agastyaparvan, while joining other purāṇas varies from the Brahmāṇḍa text. In a few cases the closest resemblance is to the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.

Let us now turn to a discussion of some other points of importance. Whereas, to begin with, the patriarch Dakṣa and his spouse Prasūti had, according to the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, 24 daughters, 13 of whom were married to Dharma and 11 to other men, the Agastyaparvan gives them 51 daughters, 13 of whom became Prajāpati's wives and 12 the ladies of Dakṣa's Brothers; on the others the text is silent. Dakṣa however had according to the Agastyaparvan, also another wife, Asiktiki–i.e. Asiknī–, Vīraṇa's daughter, who gave him 10 daughters who married Dharma, and 27 daughters who became the wives of the Moon. Elsewhere the same work states that Dakṣa had another 13 daughters who married Kaśyapa; their mother (perhaps Prasūti?) is left unmentioned. The version of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa has the support of a number of Indian Purāṇas, although the number of Dakṣa's daughters and their husbands varied greatly. In the main, however, there are two versons of the paragraphs dealing with Dakṣa's family; according to the

one he had 50 or 60 (mother : Asiknī), according to the other 24 daughters (mother : Prasūti). Curiously enough, both versions are often found in the same purāṇa (Padma,Viṣṇu, Kūrma, Liṅga, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu) but then Dakṣa's marriage with Prasūti is said to have taken place in Svāyambhuva-manvantara, his wedding with Asiknī, in another existence, in Cākṣuṣamanvantara. In the Agastyaparvan, however, no mention is made of two different manvantaras. and the number 51 is strange, although the names of the 13 wives of Prajāpati are in harmony with those of Dakṣa's daughters, who according to the Indian texts and the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa married Dharma. The conclusion must be that in the Agastyaparvan, two traditions seem to have been fused without any attempt at accounting for Dakṣa's two marriages. May we infer from this that the version it presents is younger than that of those purāṇas which assume the rebirth of Dakṣa in a later manvantara ? And may we arrive at the same conclusion on the strength of the assumption that the number 51 is a detail of a version of the story in which the 10 daughters who married Dharma, the 27 who married the Moon, and the 14 wives of Kaśyapa were added up, a younger version making these 51 girls the daughters of Prasūti and marrying them off otherwise ?

A closely connected passage is that dealing with the *nakṣatras*, i.e. the 27 spouses of Soma. In enumerating them the Agastyaparvan resembles the version of the Sanskrit Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyupurāṇas more closely than other texts. Unlike the Nakṣatrakalpa (Atharvapariśiṣṭa I), 1, 1 ff. etc. the Javanese work mentions 27. not 28, *nakṣatras* and begins with the Aśvinī, not with the Kṛttikā. A comparison between the relevant data contained in the Agastyaparvan on the one hand and the Javanese and Balinese astrological calendars[16] on the other shows that the former, it is true, mentions also the Javanese names of the constellations, but agrees only in one single case with the later in respect of their identification with the Sanskrit names. This point is of some interest because in the opinion of some scholars the Javanese had adopted the Sanskrit names to indicate constellations for which they had already, a more or less systematical nomenclature of their own; after that their astrological calendar did not, however,–according to the same scholars–include or refer to the Indian nakṣatra names. Interestingly enough, the Agastyaparvan actually gives, in part of the cases, such an identification of Indonesian terms and *nakṣatra* names; "As to the constellations called in popular speech the head

16. See a Maass, Sternkunde and sterndeuteiei im malaiischen Archipe [Astrornomy and astrology in Indonesia, in German' in Tijdschrift T.L.V. 64 (1924). p. 163 ff.

of the pig Damaluṅ, that is Puṣya". In other cases such an identification fails to turn up, but the author while mentioning the Sanskrit names of the *nakṣatras* attempts, by describing their outward form to make clear which constellation is menant: "If you see a constellation like a vehicle it is Rohiṇī". The conclusion seems to be that for the latter category there were no Indonesian names [17].

Turning now to some other details it may be observed that the contents of Chapters VI and VII–an account of the miserable consequences of Sinful behaviour–is generally speaking in perfect harmony with a considerable number of Indian parallels.[18] The narrative is amplified by many examples of special cases in which diseases and physical defects arose from the sins committed in a former life. The description of the tortures to which the sinners are subjeted in the nether world, the sojourn in heaven of the well-conducted who are distinguished for asceticism, sacrifices and what is called *kīrti*, i.e. dharmakriyā (cf. Manu 12, 31), the digression on the five mahāyajñas and other particulars are completely Indian (p. 171). In order to characterize the style and composition of the work a passage may be quoted and, as far as the Javanese is concerned, translated here. The stanza which after emendation–almost all Sanskrit passages have been handed down in a more or less corrupted form-reads as follows (p. 351 or 23) : *śarīrajaiḥ karmadoṣair yāti sthāvaratāṁ naraḥ vācikaiḥ pakṣimṛgatāṃ mānasair antyajātitām* (=Manu 12, 9; cf. aslo Yājñavalkya 3, 134-136) is in the usual way paraphrased and explained : "that is to say : if there is a human being whose behaviour is in all respects wrong, who gives pain to the people who see him, without however resorting to malicious speech and sinful thoughts-who however does not know how to behave decently-, when such a human being dies, he will become a plant, tree. The man however who uses bad language, who does not know how to express himself properly, who does not know how to behave decently,-when such a human being dies, he will become a plant, a tree. The man, however, who uses bad language, who does not know how to express himself properly, who does not know how to behave decently, qualities which, however, are not accompanied by a wicked state of mind, but whenever he speaks, he offends the ears of those who listen to

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17. For particulars I refer to my above publication, Bijdr. T.L.V. 92, p. 364 (sep. publ. p. 120).
18. For a comparison between the data contained in the Agastyaparvan and in other Old-Javanese sources the reader may be referred to my article 'Karman and Retributive Justice in Ancient Java', which is to appear in the Volume in honour of Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Calcutta.

him–when such a man dies, he will be reborn as a forest-animal or a bird. The man who is without a good mind, whose state of mind is exclusively and uninterruptedly engrossed with envy, anger, and avarice, whose heart is base (?), when such a man dies, he will be a harbarian (mleccha). His condition will be worse than that those who are reborn as trees, because it is difficult for those who are called barbarians to obtain emancipation. The trees, however, and the animals, it is their destination (?) to be emancipated. Thus that which is done with the body, with words and with the mind constitutes the lowest, middle and highest categories".

The next śloka runs as follow : dharmaśīlaṃ loke draṣṭuṃ necchati Kātaraḥ / pretyabhūtya vācakṣuḥ syād mahārauravasaṃbavaḥ (for blindness as a result of sins in a preceding existence see e.g.Manu 11, 52; Viṣṇusmṛiti 45, 20 etc.) I have not succeeded in tracing the source of this śloka, which in all probability was followed by a pendant which though omittted in the Javanese text as this is known to us, has been paraphrased as follows : "but who rejoices in seeing (people) liking fisticuffs, people thumping and kicking, people who cudgel and injure other people, the character of such a man produces the effect of being reborn as a blind man, because the Lord has created the eyes for the purpose of seeing virtuous and correct behaviour".

The genealogies which are the subject of the framework of Chapters XV-XVII are in the main, in agreement with the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu version. Here also there are some striking differences in detail, among other things a moralizing passage in connection with the story of Jaṭāyu which does not occur in the parallel texts. Jaṭāyu, it is told, has become a god because he has done many services to his fellow-men. Therefore the great mass of the people should follow his example and exert themselves to the utmost, conferring benefits upon others, so that they may be purified and their behaviour justified. A wise man does not want to be favoured by the rich, because the recompense does not fall to him. Those who accept gifts without scruples are avaricious, they will be reborn as women and become the wives of the rich who were their benefactors.

Attention may also be drawn to chapter XVIII containing, *inter alia*, a description of *muktapada*, in which the names and terminology of different religious schools and communities are enumerated in succession (p. 385 ; 57) : the text makes mention of the Yogitapakṣa ? who call the abode of the emancipated yogādiparamanerātmya; of the adherents of the Bhairavamārga who give it the name of anantaparamānanda; of the Śaivas Pāśupatas, and the adepts of the Siddhānta doctrine according to whom it is the *Yogādiparamaguhya:* and the Vaiṣṇavas who call it

niṣkalaparamaśūnya.[19] This paragraph reminds us of a passage in the Buddhist Javanese text saṅhyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, b 44 ff.[20]

Another chapter is devoted to the obligations of the social classes and stations in life (XXIII), a favourite subject of smṛtis and purāṇas. The passage dealing with permissible and forbidden marriages between members of the four classes is however of a striking brevity and succinctness: one should marry a person of one's own class, a man may however also choose a girl from the next lower class. As is well known savarṇa–was, e. g. by Baudhāyana (1,8,16,6), defined as "the son of a couple belonging to the same varṇa or class, or of a father who belonged to the next higher class to that of the mother."

There are also some paragraphs which cannot go back to Indian sources and must therefore be of a Javanese origin. To these passages belong, for instance, a reference to acertain Uḍug basur (Ch. VIII; p. 363 or 35) : the daitya Gaveṣṭhi or Kālanemi is said to have been the grandfather of Uḍug Basur who in olden times destroyed the island of Java. As this figure reminds us of Budug basu or Udubasu, a legendary dog which–according to traditions handed down in he Western provinces of the island of Java–wished to destroy the rice which had recently been given to men, there can be no doubt that here a Javanese mythological or legendary figure has been incorporated into the Indian genealogy. It may be observed that Kālanemi's behaviour (see Viṣṇupur, 5, 12 ff.) bears resemblance to the story of Budug basu, because he also infested the residences of men.

In Chapter XXII Agastya refers to Viśrava (s), the son of Pulastya and Ilā. Ilā was the daughter of king Tṛnabindu, who is said to have been Agastya's pupil and to have devoted himself to asceticism in the island of Java. Observing that Tṛṇavindu (as he writes the name) now is among the *saptarṣis* the author adds that he was one of those *siddhayogīśvaras* who lived in that island, (the other being Harideva and Anaka), who was the ascetic of the Dihyaṅ (Dieng) plateau in Java and Mārkaṇḍeya, who lived, likewise as an asectic, on the mountain Damaluṅ. Tṛṇabindu-who is, e. g. also in the Mahābhārata called a muni (3, 263, 5 etc)–is a figure of frequent occurrence in Javanese art and literature[21].Harideva May in

19. See also R. Goris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche on Balineesche Theologie, Thesis Leiden 1926, p. 101 ff.
20. See J. S. Speyer, in Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft 67, p. 352.
21. See e. g. F. D. K. Bosch, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde 57, p. 434 ff.; Bigeaud, o.c., p. 285f.; Boerbatjaraka, o.c. p. 41; 55; 92 ff.

all probability be identified with Haricandana who was worshipped at the same place[22], viz. the Dieng. Mārkaṇḍeya was (as *Karmaṇḍeya!*) according to the Javanese work Tantu Panggelaran, p 89 a devaguru on the Kailāsa and, as the successor of the gods, the first human devaguru of the first Javanese Maṇḍala (āśrama or hermitage) Sukuyajña; the same text (p. 126 f.) informs us that Agasti (sic) was his successor. It is difficult to say whether these passages go back to the scholar who translated and adapted the Agastyaparvan and who may, anyhow, be considered the author on the Javanese text, or to an 'editor' or copyist.

Some words may finally be added on the date of the Agastya-Parvan. As is usually the case with anciet Javanese treatises of this category. no reliable data are available. Anyhow, it must be much older than the Koravāśrama which seems to have been compiled in the 15th cent. A,D, because that book in a curious passage mentions the work under consideration, as well as the Uttarakhaṇḍa, among the books of the Mahābhārata : this can only mean that the author regarded it as a classic and as contemporaneous with the epic 'parvans.' The Agastyaparvan may also be older than the recension C of the Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan which to all appearance is a younger hinduistic adaptation of this originally buddhist work, because the author (or a redactor ?) of this recension-which, however, is of uncertain date, though much older than Koravā-śrama-borrowed some lines from the former treatise. Judging from the style, the grammatical forms and the vocabulary of the text, it can hardly be considered much younger than the adaptation of the books of the Mahābhārata which may roughly speaking date from about 1000 A.D.

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22. See e.g. H. J. Krom, Hindoe-Javansche Geschiedenis 2, 's. Gravenhage 1931, p. 183; 193 (with references).

SOME MORE CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT* TEXTUAL CRITICISM

BY

MADELEINE BIARDEAU

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे महाभारतस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणमाधारीकृत्य महाभारतादीनां पुराणानां च एतादृशानां संस्करणानामनुपयोगित्वमप्रामाण्यं च प्रदर्शितम् । विदुष्या लेखिकाया मते मौखिकपरम्परया प्राप्तानां विभिन्नपाठसरणीनां समानमेव महत्त्वं वर्तते अतः परम्परागतपाठसरणीनां सांकर्यं न विधेयम् । महाभारतं पुराणा नि च प्रथमं मौखिकपरम्परया प्रचारं प्राप्तानि, यस्मिन् विभिन्नस्थानेषु विभिन्नकालेषु च बह्व्यः पाठपरंपराः संजाताः । तेषां संरक्षणमवश्यमेव कर्त्तव्यम् । सर्वासां पाठसरणीनां समानान्तरमेव एकत्र पाठसमीक्षात्मकं पृथक् पृथक् संस्करणं कर्त्तव्यं येन तासां सरणीनां तुलनात्मके अध्ययने सौकर्यं स्यात् ।]

The critical editions of purāṇas which are now being prepared in Varanasi appear to be based on the same principles which were applied to the Bhandarkar Institute edition of the *Mahābhārata*. Shri A.S. Gupta, in his article "Constituntion of the Vāmana Purāṇa text" (*Purāṇa*, Vasantapañcamī Number, Vol. IX. 1, Jan. 1967,pp. 141-194) deals only with the practical problems of text reconstruction, which seems to imply that on the whole he has relied on the theoretical conclusions reached by V.S. Sukthankar in his elaborate Introduction to the first volume of the *Mahābhārata.*

In 1929 and in 1934 (*Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec. 1929, pp. 345-348; Oct.-Dec. 1934, pp. 281-283). Sylvain Levi hailed the publication of the first three and the last fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* as a great event, but at the same time he expressed some doubt as to the value of the text so reconstructed. Sukthankar in his Introduction of 1933, discarded the 1929 criticism as "a paradox natural to the subtle mentality of the learned critic", which "we need not take too seriously" (Mbh. Vol. I. p. LXXXIV). Though my mind is far from being as subtle as that of my *paramaguru*, I fell to see any Paradox in S. Levi's appraisal of Sukthankar's work, but I would rather quote from his review of the 7th fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*

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* Purāṇa, Vol. X, No. 2 pp. 115-123

(1934), which may help clarify his reasoning (p. 282): "Mr. Sukthankar, who has been trained by the pandits and by the German philologists, remains halfway between the Indian tradition and Wolff. He cannot help thinking that Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana are historical characters, and he holds the idea of an old organic poem, which is the basis of all alterations; but he also says about this poem that it "practically never existed".

This contradiction that Sylvain Levi brought to light years ago has remained in the minds of Indians as one of the unsolved conflicts resulting from the impact of Western science. The French scholar was aware of the limits of textual criticism when applied to such monuments of oral tradition as the Indian epics, and since his time, Western scientists have become increasingly conscious of the specific problems of oral tradition (even when it is only available to us through written texts). But the Indian scholars have continued to adhere to Sukthankar's principles of method, though the latter was already fully aware, as his Introduction shows, of the difficulties of textual criticism. The reason for this is not necessarily that the modern developments of Western science are not yet known in India. It must be considered that the conception of what the western scholar calls "oral tradition" is nothing like Indian conception of oral tradition.

In the West, oral tradition refers essentially to the manner that popular beliefs, myths and legends, which were in olden days narrated by more or less skilled people, are transmitted. The narrators were not necessarily specially authorized for this activity; rather they were appreciated on the basis of their ability to tell stories. It was not expected of them to repeat faithfully a given text, which had been learnt by heart. On the contrary, a good story-teller was one who knew how to make the same old story lively and captivating, to certain extent through the use of his own words. Only the gist of the story, its essential pattern or meaning, remained the same. Oral tradition in this sense is considered to be authorless, or rather, anonymous and collective. As such it is in opposition to written literature, which is comprised exclusively of works composed by individual authors, whether known or unknown, and which are maintained unaltered, as far as possible, through the manuscript tradition. Since the written literature in the West is valued more highly than the oral tradition, the specific features of the latter were ignored for a long time. The rules of textual criticism were evolved for only the written literature and their main purpose was to

reconstruct, out of the variations of manuscripts, the original work of an author.

But to the Indian mind, "oral tradition" has quite different connotations. On the one hand, it is the highest form of literature, a form which gives us the religious truth itself in its unalterable expression, the truth about invisible things. Actually the phrase "oral tradition" is not quite an accurate translation of the Sanskrit word *śruti*, which denotes the revealed truth received through the hearing of immutable words or sentences. The emphasis here is placed on the hearing rather than on the reciting of what has been heard. The transmission process, of course, implies a *guru* who speaks and a disciple who listens, but the correct hearing and remembering practically ends the work of the *śiṣya*. From ear to mouth of the same speaker no word should be altered; the speaker's mind should not be allowed to interfere with the received message. The Vedic text is not considered to be composed by men, but self revealed, and at the same time it is the perfect expression of the meaning to be expressed. Only the brahmins are fit to hear and recite it, not only because they have acquired a special skill, but also because they were born brahmins. In point of fact, however, there are several Vedic texts, though they deal essentially with the same rituals and could at least partly be brought together and reconciled. But, as they are considered immutable they are classified under different "branches" or schools and kept as they are with their variations. Even the most staunch supporters of Western textual criticism in India would never dream of "critically editing" the Vedas in the same way as the epics and the purāṇas, since they are absolutely authoritative as they are.

On the other hand, however, there is another variety of oral tradition if we mean by this phrase any form of literature which has been transmitted through the centuries primarily by oral recitation, namely, that which comes under the generic term *smṛti*. The epics and purāṇas are *smṛti* texts and, as such they have been composed by men. For this reason they are less authoritative than the *śruti*, but at the same time, they are given a definite religious normative value, provided their contents are found by the learned brahmins (that is, the brahmins who are well-versed in the *śruti*) to be in agreement with the revealed truth. Hence there are a number of consequences which a modern pandit constntly keeps in mind, even when he sets to work at bringing out a critical edition: if a purāṇa is

of human origin, it must have been composed by a man and that man must have been of the most authoritative kind. Vyāsa is the great-grandson of Vasiṣṭha, the very symbol of pure brahminhood. He is a *ṛṣi*, but for an Indian mind his mythic characterisation does not exclude his historical reality; it simply keeps it out of reach. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that what we have now is not a single text with negligible variant readigs, but different recension of the same work, which obviously have been evolved independently of one another to a certain extent, in different parts of India. These different recensions cannot be easily reconciled with one another, since not all of them even include the same stories, nor are they always given in the same order. The problem is quite similar for the epics and the purāṇas. In both cases the oral tradition of the last centuries has been maintained at least partially through manuscript transmission, but everybody is aware of the vast variations that occur, not only between two recensions, but also between two versions of the same recension. It cannot be concealed that the bards (usually non-brahmins) who narrated the stories partly re-created them for each recitation in the same manner as the Western bards during the Middle Ages. To a modern brahmin's mind this means unauthoritativeness, sheer fancy and hopeless separation from the pure source of wisdom.

Here in my opinion, lies the fundamental misunderstanding and the reason why Sukthankar and others have held to textual criticism in spite of all the theoretical difficulties, which they could see as clearly as we do. In using a seemingly Western scientific method, which was not meant for that kind of literature, they had in mind a purpose which could only superficially be stated in scientific terms; in fact it remained purely religious. The question whether Vyāsa was a mythic or an historical author could not even be clearly raised. since he was primarily the symbol of the authoritativeness of the epic and purāṇic texts. What was to be reached was not so much the original text as the most authoritative one, and it was hoped that the oldest possible version would come closer to the truthful version, having less intermediary transmitting agents to alter it.

This hope, of course, is not sufficient to make the methods of textual criticism applicable; Sukthankar's analysis of the critical problems of *Mahābhārata* is proof to the contrary. Once the "fluidity" of the text has been admitted, once we have become aware of the regional and temporal variations which have resulted in different recensions and versions, we

cannot be easily convinced that the shortest recension (that of Kashmir) is the best and that the oldest manuscripts, which in any case are much more recent than the beginnings of the epic traditions, are the most faithful to the assumed original. At best, to use Sylvain Levi's own terms, Suktankar has created a new recension of the *Mahābhārata* and it is likely that in the near future we shall also have some new recensions of purāṇas. But it is not clear why these should be either better from a scientific viewpoint, or more authoritative from a traditional angle. Since the traditional Indian pandits presently seem to share in this opinion, it would seem that the target has been missed.

Let us examine the problem once again from both sides. I shall start from the traditional standpoint, since the aim of any scientific method in human sciences should be to determine the right approach to an object through an understanding of its particular setting. If we want to scientifically study some piece of the Indian oral tradition we should not begin by focusing our attention on the changes that took place in the process of transmitting the texts, but determine for any given time, whether a particular of the indian oral tradition had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people and how it was understood by them. We are all the more invited to do so as the old Indian commentators did not ignore the variations in the tradition, though they were not bothered too much by them, and even made use of them.

If we compare the fate of the Mahābhārata to that of the Vedic texts, we find a particularly striking difference. On the one hand, Vedic so-called "branches", which were differentiated very early but made immutable at one point, have been maintained unaltered up to the present time. For each school of each Veda there is a group of brahmins who should recite only the particular recension of the school; the text of each recension is thus related to permanent social group and made inseparable from it. If the text disappeared, there would no longer be a basis for the distinction of the group. On the other hand, the smṛti texts, which also probably in one form or other date back to a very early period, embody the entire popular lore, with occasional marked differences in the degree of brahminic orthodoxy. They were probably never exclusively in the hands of brahmins, and for centuries they have conveyed in a striking manner the beliefs and ideals of the people. Although the expression might slightly change, the essential message has remained the same. The meaning has

been more important than the form, which is the very sign of a living tradition. Not only could one story vary in its details but even the number and content of stories from one recension to the other could vary as a result of their spreading over such a vast area during a period of many centuries. But the overall meaning has still been felt as one and the same.

This is why, speaking now from a scientific standpoint, we have some difficulty in agreeing with Sukthankar's poor opinion of the Vulgate edition of the Mahābhārata. To him this text compiled in the 17th century, is the very symbol of an unscientific mind. Instead of choosing and eliminating, Nīlakaṇṭha tried to collect all the available versions of the *Mahābhārata* and on the basis of them all, to compose a more complete text, which Sukthankar called a "conflated" recension. Unfortunately we do not have much evidence of Nīlakaṇṭha's kind of work but we know at least that his text became very popular, from which we can assume that, at the very least, he did not assemble the stray pieces of his puzzle altogether indiscriminately; or, to put it in other words, that his *Mahābhārata* received a warmer welcome than the present critical edition. No doubt he had also sometimes to eliminate and choose, and it is obvious that he did not retain stories or details of stories which were meaningless to him. His main concern was not to give a critical edition but rather to bring out as complete a collection as possible of the epic stories that were prevalent at that time and known by every body in one form or other. But certainly he was equally concerned with the authoritataiveness of the stories, as any good brahmin should be. He was probably even more conscious of this religious requirement than the modern pandits, and his definition of the authoritativeness of the smṛti is likely to have been the same as that of any caste-Hindu at any time. We can at least tentatively express the traditional idea in these terms : any epic or purāṇic story is true if the local brahmins recognize it as part of their beliefs. These brahmins are the śruta, the people that warrant the authority of the local tradition because they are well-versed in the śruti. And if such a story is recognized by the brahmins, it is attributed to Vyāsa, the mythic author of epics and purāṇas, regardless of whether it is mentioned in any of the classical texts .

I think I found something of this situation recently (Oct. 1967) when talking with the Śrīvaiṣṇava pandits of the Simhāchalam *pāṭhaśālā* in Andhra. The latter had no difficulty in admitting that the local purāṇa,

which relates the story of Narasiṃha and Prahlāda, was quite different from the Skandapurāṇa version of the same story, though this was the avowed source of it. In spite of this difference the local purāṇa was for them authoritative, since it expressed their belief and therefore was considered superior to any other local version. A non-brahmin Hindu, who was accompanying me at the time, tried to propose another version of the same story–that is, essentially another interpretation of the same iconographical details, which, on closer examination, happened to be śaivite. The Śrīvaiṣṇava brahmins thought it was enough to refute it by saying that it was "a purāṇa coming from the mouth". In contradistinction, their *sthalapurāṇa* was no doubt attributed to Vyāsa just like the *Skandapurāṇa* or any other Mahāpurāṇa. In other words, the Śrīvaiṣṇava brahmins found in themselves the real source of the authoritativeness of the story without caring too much for the real origin of the tradition in time or place. Their interpretation of the story must be eternal or at least extremely old, as old as Vyāsa himself. This way of thinking also accounts for conflicting traditions, which are not held by the same people but each of which has its authority directly grounded in the people's minds.

The modern pandits are now in the name of science trying to reverse the terms, and decide what is old enough to possibly date back to Vyāsa and use this as the basis for deterining the authoritative version. They have introduced the historical dimension into the realm of myth where it cannot exist. For a long time people have been aware of differences in local recensions or traditions but it has not occured to them that these differences should be accounted for in terms of historical change. A criterion for decision could immediately be found in their own social group-status. The modern interpretation is obviously the result of the impact of Western science, at least of the dominant trend of Western Indian studies, that is, historical philology. But the approach of historical philology will never be suitable for an oral tradition, which has no essential reference to its historical origin and which, through the centuries, has spread over a vast area without preserving its material unity. It would just be wrong to make Vyāsa the historical origin of what has no single historical origin. Of course Sukthankar was too much a part of the Indian traditional culture not to have felt this, and the difficulties in preparing a critical edition, which he listed in his Introduction, bear witness to his uneasiness. But he

failed to see that these same difficulties required an altogether different scientific approach. Actually his attitude was shared by many Western scientists of the time and Sylvain Levi appears to have been one of the very few dissenting voices in the West.

The only conclusion which suggests itself is that any locally accepted version is authoritative in its own right. It does not mean that the Mahābhārata or any widespread purāṇa has no unity whatever, but rather that its unity is to be found in the meaning of the stories and not in their particular contents or historical bearing. This is why the orthodox Hindu consciousness has always found it so easy to accept wide variations in the texts. Any scientific study should first of all preserve these variations and determine the kind of socio-religious idea they conveyed to people.

This is a sufficient indication of the method that should be followed in bringing out critical editions of this kind of literature. The editors up till now have concentrated on the reconstruction of a single text out of the several known recensions, but it is recognized by everybody, including the editors themselves, that such a text never existed. It never represented the actual beliefs of any particular group of people nor could it claim to stand for the minimum common beliefs of the Hindus. For this reason the main concern of the editors should be to publish not only the different recensions as they are, but also, when necessary, the different versions of each recension. It would be very useful if the different texts could be published in parallel. Each version could be "critically edited" to a certain extent, though final certainty or a completely satisfactory text is impossible due to the very conditions of oral literature. But this detailed critical work should not be mechanically compiled just on the basis of the known rules of critical editions. Though this is outside the subject of the present paper, I would sugest that the manuscript evidence be checked and strengthened through consultations with the people who, even now, have a first hand knowledge of the epics and purāṇas.

A number of question and objections may be raised in relation to the above discussion. I purposely remained at the level of generalities to make my point clearer, but this does not mean that all practical difficulties have disappeared. It would be very interesting indeed, and certainly worthwhile, if people who have something to say in this connection cared to express their opinions.

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PRINCIPLES OF MAHĀBHĀRATA TEXTUAL CRITICISM : THE NEED FOR RESTATEMENT*

BY

V. M. BEDEKAR

['पुराण' पत्रिकायाः १०.२ (जुलाई १९६८) अङ्के मैडेलिन बिआरड्यू इत्याख्यया फ्रान्सदेशीयविदुष्या पाठसमीक्षात्मकसरण्या प्रस्तुतानां महाभारतपुराणादीनां संस्करणाना-मनुपयोगित्वमप्रामाण्यं च विवेचितम् । लेखिकामहोदयाया मतानुसारतः विभिन्नपाठसर-णीनां पाठसाङ्कर्यं न करणीयम् अपि तु सर्वासामेव तत्तद्देशेषु प्रचलितानां पाठपरम्पराणां रक्षणपुरस्सरं सर्वासां पाठसरणीनां समानान्तरं एकत्रैव पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं विधेयम् । प्रस्तुतनिबन्धस्य लेखकः श्रीबेडेकरमहोदयः उक्तलेखिकायाः मतानामालोचनं कृत्वा तेषां निस्सारत्वमप्रामाण्यं च दर्शयति । लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारतः पाठसमीक्षासिद्धान्तानु-सारतः प्राचीनग्रन्थानां सम्पादनं तु प्रायेण सर्वेषामेव विदुषां सम्मतमस्ति । सप्ततिवर्षाणां प्राक् विन्टरनित्जमहोदयैः महाभारतस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्यावश्यकता प्रदर्शिता ल्यूडर्समहोदयैश्च केषाचिन्महाभारतश्लोकानां समीक्षितसंस्करणं प्रकाशितम् । तदनन्तरं भण्डारकरशोधसंस्थानतः बहुभिः प्रकाण्डपण्डितैः चत्वारिंशद् वर्षं यावत् सपरिश्रमं सम्पूर्ण महाभारतं प्रकाशितम् । प्रस्तुतनिबन्धे लेखकः प्रदर्शयति यत् लेखिकया उद्भाविता बह्व्यो विप्रतिपत्तयः पूर्वमेव कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिरुद्भाविता आसन् यासां समाधानमपि सुकथानकरमहोदयैः कृतम् । यत् लेखिकामहोदयया सर्वासां पाठपरम्पराणां पृथक्-पृथक् सम्पादनं प्रस्तावितं तत्तु महाभारतादिबृहद्ग्रन्थानां पक्षे अव्यवहार्यं वर्तते । पुनश्च इदमपि पाठमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणमेव भविष्यति । सर्वाः पाठपरम्पराः पृथक्-पृथक् दातव्या एव तर्हि तासामाधारभूतस्य कस्यचित् प्राचीनपाठस्य निर्धारणे को दोषो भवेत् । लेखिकामहोदयया विभिन्नपाठपरम्पराज्ञानवतां तत्तदेशीयपण्डितानां महत्त्वप्रदर्शनमपि अतिरञ्जितम् । व्यक्तिविशेषाणां रुचिररुचिर्वा वैज्ञानिकपद्धत्या विषयो न भवति । डाक्टरसुकथान-करमहोदयेन स्वभूमिकायां नीलकण्ठस्य ये दोषाः प्रदर्शितास्तेषां समाधानं न कृतं लेखिकया अपितु नीलकण्ठस्य तया अनपेक्षिता प्रशस्तिः कृता । पुनश्च नीलकण्ठेनापि विभिन्नकोशानामाधारेण संग्रहात्मकं संस्करमेव प्रस्तुतम् । लेखिकया यदुक्तं वैज्ञानिकी

* Purāṇa, Vol. XI. No2 (July, 1969) pp. 210-228

पाठसमीक्षापद्धतिः भारतीयपुराणेतिहासादिषु नोपयुज्यते तदपि असमीचीनमेव वैज्ञानिकपद्धत्याः सार्वभौमत्वात् सार्वजनीनत्वाच्च । लेखिकामहोदयया परम्परादृष्ट्यास्य संस्करणस्याप्रमाण्यकथनमप्यसमीचीतनम् । यतः सुकथानकरमहोदयैर्नेदमुक्तं यदिदं संस्करणम् परम्परादृष्ट्याऽधिकं प्रामाणिकम् । अत्र लेखकमहोदयः समस्तप्रश्नानामुत्तरं विधाय कथयति यत् लेखिकामहोदया इतिहासपुराणयोः कस्याप्यंशस्य स्वीयसिद्धान्तानुसारेण संपादनं प्रकाशनं च यदि कुर्यात् तदैव तस्य व्यावहारिकत्वमुपयोगित्वं च परीक्षितुं शक्येत् ।]

The need for a Critical edition of the Mahābhārata *(mb)* was first voiced about seventy years ago by M. Winternitz (1897). In furtherance of the project initiated by Winternitz's proposal, Prof. Luders prepared a 'specimen' of a critical editon of the first 67 stanzas of the Ādiparvan of the mb in 1908. The first great World War gave a quietus to the ambitious project of the critical edition of the *mb* undertaken by Western scholars. Subsequently, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute enthusiastically undertook the work of the critical edition of the *mb.* Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, the first General Editor, brought out the critical edition of the Ādiparvan in 1933, with a Prolegomena appended to it in the beginning, in which he systematically formulated the principles of textual criticism underlying the critical editon of the *mb*. On the basis of these principles enunciated in the Prolegomena, the subsequent work of critically editing the rest of the *mb* was carried on, and the critical edition of the whole of the *mb* (without the Harivaṁśa) was completed in 1966. The principles formulated and applied to the critical edition of the *mb* have been acclaimed by almost all scholars and have generally served as a scientific norm in the preparation of the critical eiditions of old Indian texts. One would, indeed, think that, after the publication of the mounumental critical edition of the *mb* on which so many eminent scholars worked, the principles of textual criticism underlying the edition had come to stay. It is, therefore, curious and intriguing, if not amusing, to read 'some more considerations about Textual Criticism' by Madeleine Biardeau (B) ('PURĀṆA' July 1968. pp. 115-123) in which the writer has called in question the very principles of textual criticism underlying the critical edition of the *mb*.

B. while attacking the principles of *mb* textual criticism has stated towards the end of her article that 'I purposely remained at the level of generalities to make my point clearer'. With all deference to the writer's candour in making this statement, it must be remarked that one's overall

impression after reading the article is that of a cluster of vague generalizations wich hardly 'make the writer's point clearer'. The writer has not given or pinpointed specific texts or passages in the critical edition of the mb or the *Purāṇas* to substantiate her contentions. A careful reader of Sukthankar's Prolegomena to the Ādiparvan will be agreeably surprised to find that many of the difficulties or the objections which B. claims to have raised in her article had been already forestalled and satisfactorily met by him. We shall give such instances in the sequel of this article.

Fortunately for the reader, B. has come down from the plane of generalities towards the end of the article and has vouchsafed what appear to be her constructive suggestions, for the consideration of the editors of the citical editions. B says (p. 123[1]) :– "The main concern of the editors should be to publish not only the different recensions as they are but also when necessary, the different versions of each recension. The different texts should be published in parallel. Each version could be "critically edited" (B's own inverted commas) to a certain extent, though final certainty or completely satisfactory text is impossible. This detailed critical work should not be mechanically compiled just on the basis of known rules of critical editions. I would suggest that the ms evidence be checked and strengthened through consultations with the people who even now have a firsthand knowledge of the Epic and the Purāṇas".

The substance of the suggetion made by B. in the first sentence of the above quotation has been already dealt with by Sukhankar who says.[2] "One scholar (Lesny, Archiv Orietalni, Vol. 5 (1933), has suggested that to expedite and facilitate the work, we should, as a first step, before any attempt is made to constiute the final text of the *mb*, critically edit all the different versions. That, it must be said, a tall order, as any one will admit, who has any practical experience of editing the *mb*, in any shape or form, critical or otherwise. But perhaps funds and workers-not to speak of patience-can be found to edit a dozen or more lakhs of stanzas comprising the dozen or more versions of the Great Epic. There remains, however, yet another and more fundamental difficulty which appears to have wholly escaped the attention of the learned critic. The diffculty is that it is practically impossible to edit even a single version of the *mb*- or for that matter, of any other text-wholly satisfactorily, without considering the

1. The figures refer to the pages of B's article in the PURĀṆA already referred to.
2. Prolegomena pp. 82 ff. Quotations from Sukthankar further on in the article refer to the pages from the prolegomena.

entire evidence that is, without, at the same time, consulting the readings of all other versions[3]. .....In fact, there is no way of finding out whether any of the *mss* of a particular version. And, if for the editing of each of the individual versions, we have to scrutinize and weigh the entire evidence, we might as well get busy with the work of preparing the final text, assuming of course that a final text has to be prepared... Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that all the dozen or more versions lie before us in a critically edited shape. our task is not made easier on that account. One has to go through the same mental process in picking out or reconstructing the correct readings, whether, as at present, the *variae lectiones* are concentrated on a single page of the critical editions, arranged round about in a semi-circle. Preparing all these different editions would not by itself give us the correct readings".

We have given the above quotation in extenso in order to show that the suggestion of B. that the different recensions and their versions should be separately published is not a new one and that it has been given great thought and shown to be quite unfeasible by Sukthankar. The most important conclusion to which B's suggestion inexorably leads, in spite of her, is, as has been shown by Sukthankar, the very necessary task of preparing the critical edition to which B. unfortunately demurs throughout her article. That the suggestion made by B. has not been given full thought or has not been thought out by her in all its implications or is even haphazard, vague and ill-conceived would appear from the rather intriguing statements made by her (following that suggestion made by her in the above quotation from her article). She says (p. 132). "The different texts of versions of recensions should be published in parallel. Each version could be 'critically edited' to a certain extent..... This critical work should not be just on the basis of known rules of critical editions.. The *ms* evidence be checked..through consultations with the people who have a first-hand knowledge of the Epics.." Now these vague statements raise a number of questions. On each of these statements, one would like to ask B. the following questions:

(i) If, in the proposed edition, the different texts are to be published in parallel, how would this procedure substantially differ from the present critical edition of the *mb.* in which the different varying texts are either given at the bottom of the page or in the Appendix?

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3. As this point, Sukthankar discusses a specific example of the diffculty of ascertaining the true character of the variants in Grantha *ms* without consulting other versions.

(ii) What does a version 'being critically edited' mean? Does it not mean, as Sukthankar says, the consideration and consultation of the readings of all other versions? If that is what is meant, how does it differ from the present method of the textual criticism of the *mb?*

(iii) What rules has B. in view. 'other than known rules of critical editions'?

(iv) What particular people has she in view, who according to her 'have a firsthand knowledge of the texts'? Are they some local Pandits or Paurāṇikas who read or recite the Epics and the Purāṇas?

What quality or standard has she in view, which the local Pandits should possess and by which their firsthand knowledge or accuracy of their particular transmission of the Epic or Purāṇic texts can be judged? While consulting the Pandits, the Pandits of what particular locality or localities should be given preference in deciding upon a variant in a 'critically edited' text? These questions would logically confront the reader and befog him as to the exact and clear outlines of the new constructive method of textual criticism B. may have in view. Her statement that she has 'purposely remained at the level of generalities' would not exonerate her from the charge of misleading the reader by making such vague general statements with a view to belittling, without adducing sufficient reasons, the canons of textual criticism on which the critical edition of the *mb* is based.

B. calls in question the textual criticism on which the critical edition of the *mb* is based, but nowhere does expressly state her own rules of textual criticism. If we try to gather, from the vague general statements which we have quoted above and subjected to a searching analysis, some canons of textual criticism which B. may have in view, we may say that one of her proposed canons of proper textual criticism would be to 'check the *ms* evidence through consultation with the people who have a first-hand knowledge of the epics' (p. 123). That She has this criterion of textual criticism in view gets corroborated by another statement which she has made in the article (p. 121). She says: "Any Epic or Purāṇic story is true if the local Brahmins recognize it as part of their beliefs". In support of this criterion of textual criticism which she has posited, she goes on to give a concrete illustration which she came across in her tour of Andhra. Her illustration throws an interesting light on what constitutes according to her own peculiar idea, a canon of textual criticism, namely, the recognition by local Brahmins. She says[4] (p. 121) "While talking with Shri Vaishnava

4. What follows is summary of the anecdote of her meeting with the Brahmin Pandits.

pandits of the Simhachalam Pathashālā in Andhra, I found that they admitted that the local Purāṇa which relates the story of Narasiṁha and Prahlāda was quite different from the Skandapurāṇa version of the same story, though Skandapurāṇa version was the avowed source of it. In spite of this difference, the local Purāṇa was for them authoritative, since it expressed their beliefs, and was therefore considered superior to any local version. A non-Brahmin Hindu (who accompanied me) tried to propose another i.e. Śaivite version of the same story. The Shri Vaishṇava Brahmins rejected that version saying that it was a Purāṇa 'coming from the mouth', while their own local Sthala-Purāṇa was attibuted to Vyāsa. The Shri Vaishṇava Brahmins found in themselves the real source of the authoritativeness of the story".

The criterion, which B. has suggested for the checking of *ms* evidence,–namely the consultation with the local pandits–is, as has been suggested in the questions raised previously above is, to say the least, uncertain and arbitrary. The ancedote which she narrates of her meeting and talk with the Vaishṇava pandits of Simhachalam does not at all help to make the criterion clearer. The Pandits admit that the story of Naraśiṁha and Prahalāda occuring in the Skandapurāṇa is the soure of, or older than, that in the local Purāṇa. The admission of the pandits that the Skandapurāṇa version of the story is older than the one in their own local Purāṇa, implies on their part the tacit acceptance–may be, unawares–of the principles of scientific textual criticism according to which attempt is made to distinguish or separate an older version from its later modified version. That the local pandits show their preference for the version in the local Purāṇa is another matter and being subjective cannot be a criterion of objective textual criticism. There might be other pandits of other localities who would show their preference for the version in the Skandapurāṇa. The non-Brahmin Hindu who accompanied B. had his preference for the Śaivite version of the story. How can such differing likes and dislikes-such subjective preferences for particular versions-serve as a criterion of scientific textual criticism? Scientific textual criticism, in application to this particular case, should and would take into account all available *ms* evidence and other testimonial bearing on all versions of the Narasiṁha and Prahlāda story and try to arrive at and constitute the oldest shape or version of the story on the basis of that evidence. While recording the oldest form or version of the story thus arrived at and constituted, proper scientific textual criticism would not ignore the differences or variations found in the versions; on the other hand, it would also record such differences and variations in the critical apparatus below

the constituted version or in the Appendices attached to it thus making available in one edition to all readers a panorama of different versions, still leaving them free choice to enjoy their preference for their own particular version which they may be considering as authoritative.

Basing his stand on the principles of objective textual criticism, Sukthankar has naturally been critical of the Vulgate i.e. the Devanāgrī version of Nīlakaṇṭha which he takes as proof of the process of conflation through which the *mb* text has passed. B. disagreeing with Sukthankar's principles of textual criticism and his criticism of Nīlakaṇṭha, has the following to say in praise of the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha (p. 120) : "N tried to collect all the available versions of the *mb* and on the basis of them all, to compose a more complete text....We have not much evidence of N's kind of work. No doubt he had also sometimes to eliminate and choose and he did not retain stories or details of stories which were meaningless to him. He was probably even more conscious of the religious requirement than the modern pandits. We can at least tentatively express the traditional idea in these terms : any epic or purāṇic story is true if the locak Brahmins recognize it as part of their belief. These Brahmins are the *Śruta*, because they are well-versed in Śruti......"

Sukthankar has subjected to a fairly detailed critical analysis of the version of Nīlakaṇṭha (see, pp. 65-69, 80-81, 103 of the Prolegomena). If one read Sukthankar's analysis carefully, one would not agree with B's remark made above that 'we have not much evidence of N's kind of work'. Rather, as Sukthankar has said, Nīlakaṇṭha himself has vouchsafed some information as to how he has prepared his text (Prol. p. 81). That N's text is of an inclusive type is proved by a remark of N. where he naively admits that he had put together the stanzas which had been commented on by the ancient Bhāṣyakāras and others he had found in modern manuscripts with the idea of making 'a thesaurus of excellence' (गुणोपसंहारन्यायेन एकीकृत्य). He has borrowed, according to his fancy, passages short and long, from the southern recensions, Sukthankar has conclusively shown how N.'s conflated version contains a number of lines which are not found in any of the other versions (p. 78), how it contains mystifying, nonsensical repetitions (p. 78), how at one place N. has disfigured his text in his frantic attempt to squeeze into it a lengthy Southern passage containing some details which did not fit into his own text (p. 80), and how as a result of his additions, his text sometimes becomes wholly unintelligible and syntactically absurd.

B. while praising the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha, does not care to answer Sukthankar's criticism. She further says (in the pasage quoted above) that

'No doubt he (i.e. Nīlakaṇṭha) had also to eliminate and choose etc.'. She does not explain why even Nīlakaṇṭha who, according to her, tried to collect all available versions and to compose a moré complete text, was required to eliminate arid choose certain texts. Perhpas even Nīlakaṇṭha had his own ideas to Textual Criticism, of which B. fights so shy. Therefore he was compelled by the logic of his own criterion to refer only to certain passages and eliminate them from his text [e.g. he only refers (see his Ādiparvan 196 Bombay edition) to the two adhyāyas of Nālāyaṇī and Bhaumāśvī episodes which are typical Southern interpolations and which he has dropped from his text] (See Prol. 67). Sukthankar (Prol. 67) has pointed out how Nīlakaṇṭha has candidly confessed his inability to understand[5] the confused textual traditon (on B. 1.22.1) which shows that this learned pandit of the 17th century was groping, in his own way, to arrive at certain canons of textual criticism of which B. appears to be so chary. B. agrees with S. Levi in her high estimate of the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha in spite of their obvious defect. The uncritical casual and ill-informed manner in which she has praised the Vulgate and Nīlakaṭha reminds us of the remarks which Sukthankar has made with regard to S. Levi. Sukthankar says (p. 84) "...his theoretical misgivings are based on a rather hasty study of both the Vulgate and the critical text; for the text of the Vulgate is so corrupt and obviously contaminated." These remarks of Sukthankar can apply to the whole article of B.

Then B. in the passage quoted above goes on to formulate what according to her formed Nīlakaṇṭha's criterion of composinghis text. namely, the religious requirement of the modern pandits, adding her own pet maxim referred to above that "any epic or purāṇic story is true if the local Brahmins recognize it as part of their beliefs". This criterion, namely, consisting of religous requirements and the preference of the local Brahmin is a purely subjective matter, being vague and, in the ultimate analysis, indeterminate and falls outside the sphere of objective textual criticism.

B. has unjustly criticized Sukthankar and others in using the Western Scientific method of textual criticism which was not, according to her, meant for that kind of Indian Epic and Purāṇic literature. She says in effect (pp. 116-117) "The oral tradition in the West was authorless and collective and is in opposition to written literature which was by individual authors and maintained by *ms* tradition. The rules of textual criticism were evolved for written literature and their main purpose was to

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5. अत्र कोशशुद्धिं न प्रतीमः ।

reconstruct, out of the variation of *mss*, the original work of the author". About the oral tradition in India she says (p. 118) : "The Epic and Purāṇas are Smṛti texts. We have not here a single text with negligible variant readings but different recensions of the same work. In the Epics and the Purāṇas the oral tradition has been maintained through *ms* tradition in which vast variations occur not only between two recensions but also between two versions of the same recension".

If one reads these two quotations together, one fails to understand what essential difference B. has in view between Western and Indian traditionally written transmitted texts. Originally the Epics and the Purāṇas were orally transmitted. But when later on, they were committed to writing and transmitted through mss. they apparently stand on a par with Western written literature, as far as the essential rules of textual criticism are concerned. Only the proportion and the magnitude of the task of applying rules of textual criticism to *mb* differ in their vastness and arduousness from those of the Western written literature. Sukthankar was conscious of the difficulties and the limitations in applying the principles of textual criticism to the stupendous material of the mb. He also recognised the necessity of evolving for the critical edition of the *mb* canons of textual criticism different from those usually applied to Western texts. He says (p. 77) "Indeed our ideal is the same as that of the classical philologist : restoration of the text, as far as possible, to its original form. In the mb, we have a text with about a dozen, more or less, independent versions where extreme types differ, in extent, by about 13000 stanzes or 26000 lines.... The classical philologist has clearly no experience in dealing with a text of this description, an opus of such gigantic dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind it". Undaunted by the stupendousness of the task, Sukthankar, therefore, tried to evolve, on the basis of Scientific Western textual criticism, canons of textual criticism in its application to the *mb* problem which he called, to distinguish it from the of Western literacy texts, a problem 'sui generis' (p. 86). Sukthankar applying himself to the task of evolving and formulating the Mahābhārata textual criticism, was actuated, like other Western savants (like Luders) before him, by the scientific spirit–the raison d'etre of Western textual criticism–which aimed at the restoration of the oldest text on the basis of the available *mss* evidence. B.'s criticism that Western scientific method of textual criticism is not meant for the Indian Epics and Purāṇas is therefore not only unjustified but unsound as it finally militates against the very essential core of the whole question–nameely the scientific approach which is inherent in the science of textual criticism. The textual

criticism as a science is universal and it is crass obscurantism to say that it is not meant for the Indina Epics and the Purāṇas.

Some vague confusing statements in B.'s article would lead a discriminating reader to conclude that as far as Indian Epics and Purāṇas are concerned, B. does not believe in the scientific approach inherent in textual criticism and holds some beliefs as criteria which are extraneous and irrelevant to the science of textual criticism. We are giving, as example, the following statements in her article, with our critical remarks at the end of each statement.

(i) "Sukthankar has created a new recension of the mb. But it is not clear why it should be either better from a scientific view-point or more authoritative from a traditional angle. Since the traditional Indian Pandits presently seem to share in this opinion, it would seem that the target has been missed." (p. 119).

In this statement, it is not clear what B. exactly means by the words 'more authoritative from the traditional angle'. She does not clarify what is exactly meant by 'the traditional angle' or point of view. Perhaps by authoritative she means 'approved by the traditional Indian Pandits'. But this militates against the scientific spirit of the *mb* critical edition. For, the use of the word 'authoritative' is subjective and depends upon the likes of the persons who call it authoritative. The critical edition claims that its text is better from a scientific viewpoint, as it represents the oldest text arrived at on the basis of availbale *mss* evidences. It may not be authoritative from the traditional angle of the traditional pandits who regard subjectively as authoritative their own pet versions. irrespective of the fact that those versions vary from other versions which later may be considered authoritative by another set of Pandits. Sukthankar never claimed that the critical edition would be authoritative from the traditional point of view.

(ii) "If we want to study scientifically some piece of Indian oral tradition, we should not begin by focussing our attention on the changes that took place in the process of transmitting the texts but determine for any given time whether a particular piece of oral literature had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people and how it was understood by them" (pp. 119-120)

With regard to the above statement, one may ask: what after all does scientific study of texts mean. if it does not take into account the changes that appear from recension to recension or from version to version? Again it goes without saying that every particular recension or version may have had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people. But how does this consideration help scientific textual criticism which, as has been already

said, aims at the oldest text, irrespective of the beliefs of the people who may be having liking for a particular version. It is possible that the oldest text, thus arrived at on *mss* evidence, may have had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people. But this consideration is entirely extraneous to the canons of textual criticism which lead to the restoration of the oldest text.

(iii) Speaking in praise of Nīlakaṇṭha and his text, B. remarks: "His main concern was to bring out as complete a collection as possible of the epic stories that were prevalent at the time and known by every-body in one form or another. But certainly he was concerned with the authoritativeness of the stories, as any good Brahmin should be. He was probably more conscious of this religious requirement than the modern pandits". (p. 121)

B. has not clarified or specified the criterion or the test by which Nīlakaṇṭha, including the stories. was able to find the sense or consensus of 'everybody in one form or another'. It may have been probably his own subjective preference for particular stories from different recensions or versions which actuated him, to select his conflated text. If inclusion of as complete a collection as possible of stories prevalent during the growth of the epic were the main consideration in judging any edition of the *mb*, one would recommend to B, the critical edition of the *mb* initiated by Sukthankar and completed by the successive Editors because the latter within its vast compass of (i) the constituted text (ii) starred passages and various readings given below the constituted text and (iii) the passages given in the Appendix to every Parvan, contains all the stories prevalent at various times and known by everybody in one form or another. Even the story of Nālāyaṇī whidh Nīlakaṇṭha has not included in his text is found included in the Appendiex in the critical edition.

In the eloquent words of Sukthankar (p. 4), in the preparation of the critical edition of the *mb*, "all important versions of the great Epic have been taken into consideration and all important *mss* collated, estimated, and turned to account. Since all divergent readings of any importance will be given in the critical notes, printed at the foot of the page, this edition will, for the first time, render it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant *ms* evidence for each individual passage.... Since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza actually found in the *mb* *ms* collated for the edition, is on any account, omitted this edition of the *mb* will be, in a sense more complete than any previous edition. It will be a veritable thesaurus of the *Mb* tradition".

Further, B. says that Nīlakaṇṭha as a good Brahmin was concerned with the authoritativeness of the stories, as he was more conscious of this religious requirement. Now the question is: on what grounds is the authoritativeness of a story to be judged? Is it on the grounds of 'religious requirements'? Again what does "religious requirements" imply? In that case, would not the authoritativeness of the story vary from sect to sect according to the beliefs of sectarian worshippers.?

(iv) "The modern pandits are now in the name of science trying to decide what is old enough to possibly date back to Vyāsa and use this as the basis for determining the authoritative version They have introduced the historical dimension into the realm of myth where it can not exist. For a long time, people have been aware of differences in local recensions or traditions but it has not occurred to them that these differences should be accounted for in terms of historical change. A criterion for decision could immediately be found in their own social group status."

In the above statement in the first two sentences B. appears to have misunderstood and misstated the work of modern scholars who have worked in the field of *mb* textual criticism. They do not claim to have restored texts dating back to Vyāsa; their only claim is that they have tried to restore the oldest possible text on the basis of available *mss* evidence. It is also a sweeping travesty of truth and a gross perversion to say that modern scholars have 'introduced historical dimensions into the realm of myth'. Even myths are studied scientifically by anthropologists. But here the matter is quite otherwise. Are *mss* of different recensions and versions myths? Rather, the *mss* provide a sort of a historical material into which modern scholars like Sukthankar have probed and which they have surveyed in its historical dimensions. Modern scholars have made the material historically meaningful and significant to give us the oldest possible text based on principles of textual criticism. B. further says in the statement above that people have been aware of differences in local recensions or traditions, which differences (as she appears to suggest in the last sentence if we interpret it rightly), are accounted for by them as stemming from their own social group status. What does B. exactly imply by 'social-group status'? Is it their particular sectarian creed or belief which made them introduce changes which are responsible for the differences in local recensions?–But such criteria, are, again, subjective, as they are swayed by people's likes and dislikes of particular texts and must be pronounced as irrelevant and extraneous to the objective, scientific principles of textual criticism.

(v) "Any locally accepted version is authoritative in its own right. Any scientific study should, first of all, preserve these variations and determine the kind of socio-religious ideas they conveyed to the people". The two sentences in this statement, the second following the first, are mutually contradictory in spirit. A locally accepted version is authoritative i.e. regarded as the only true one by the local pandits or the people. Scientific study involves the comparison of recensions and versions and may reveal variations from one recension or version to another. If such variations are revealed, the science of textual criticism would try to account for these variations on objective principles based on the study of *ms* evidence, arrange them in their text-critical sequence and place them as genuine or spurious, older or later, as the case may be. B. appears to insist in the second sentence that the variations in the particular version should be preserved that is, (if we interpret rightly), should be kept intact in their own original place, irrespective of what a scientific study may reveal or judge to the contrary; in that case her reference to scientific study is meaningless, because scientific study presupposes that there is nothing authoritative in its own right unless and until it is roved to be so by the scientific method. The critical edition attempts to arrive at an authentic-not authoritative-text.

The *mb* grew through centuries into a national epic, a traditional book of inspiration which has been the cherished heritage of a whole people throughout India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and has been preserved in numerous recentions written in different scripts. To say therefore, (as B. has said) that 'any locally accepted version (of the Epic) is authoritative's is to detract from the universal character of this national Epic, and make it a parochial text. The scientific study of the mb, on the other hand, based on the principles of textual criticism, takes into account this universal character of the Epic and sets about to discriminate, with as much precision and certainty as the *mss* material would allow, between the data of the rival recensions, and to evaluate correctly and confidently the amazingly large mss of variants. The critical edition worked on such scientific principles, besides giving the constituted text, of the oldest text, would also fulfil the desideratum of B. by providing, if only in a differently arranged form, the locally accepted version to the local pandits who should then be satisfied with their socio-religious ideas which the variations convey.

B.'s suggestion in the statement that 'any scientific study should determine the kind of socio-religious ideas which the variations conveyed to the people' belongs properly to the sphere of Higher criticism and not to

sphere of lower criticism, namely, the textual criticism which restricts itself only to constituting the oldest text on the basis of available *ms* evidence and does not occupy itself with probing into the socio-religious ideas of the people. This latter task belongs in the sphere of Higher Criticism which will study the constituted text, the variants in the critical apparatus, the passages in the Appendices and try to determine the different strata or stages through which the contents of the text appear to have passed and the kind of socio-religious ideas which the vatiations may have conveyed to the people.

B. has picked out certain statments, from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar, which appear to her, to be contradictory. In one of statements she says : (p. 116) "Sukthankar holds the idea of an old organic form which is the basis of all alterations; but he also says about this poem that, it, 'practically never existed'. This contradiction was brought to light by S. Levi". In another statement (p. 123) she says : "The editors up till now have concentrated on the reconstruction of a single text out of the several known recensions, but it is recognized by every body including the editors themselves, that such a text never existed".

The careful readers of the Prolegomena will be able to judge for themselves that B.'s above statements are based on quotations which are torn out of their context, and that they misrepresent the claims of the editors of the *mb*. We shall quote the relevant words of Sukthankar in their full context (p. 102-103) :

"The essential fact in the mb textual criticism.... that the *mb* is not and never was a fixed rigid text, but is fluctuating epic tradition...Our objective should consequently not be to arrive at an archetype (which practically never existed), but to represent, view and explain the epic tradition in all its variety, in all its ramifications. This is a problem in textual dynamics rather than in textual statics. To put in other words, *mb* is the whole of the Epic tradition : the entire critical apparatus. Its separation into the constituted text and the critical notes is only a static representation of a constantly changing epic text....."

The tenor of Sukthankar's words that 'an archetype...practically never existed' is to point out the fundamentally fluctuating, fluid nature of the epic text which, according to him, set limits, inherent in this peculiar task, on the critical edition's attempt to arrive at the archetype. Sukthankar is quite clear in his further statement regarding the objective of the critical edition : He says (p. 102-103) :

"To prevent miconception in the mind of the casual reader, it is best to state at first what the constituted text is *not*. The editor is firmly convinced

that the text presented in this edition is *not* anything like the autograph copy of the work of its mythical author, Vyāsa. It is not, in any sense, a reconstruction of the Ur-mahābhārata or of the ur-bhārata, that indeed but impossible desideratum. It is also not an exact replica of the poem recited by Vaiśampāyana before Janamejaya. It is further wholly uncertain how close it approaches the text of the poem said to be recited by the Sūta before Śaunaka....."

"It is but a modest attempt to present a version of the epic as old as the extant manuscript material will permit us to reach with some semblance of confidence. it only claims to be the *most ancient one* according to the direct line of transmission.....It may be regarded as the ancestor of all extant manuscripts, or to be precise, of the manuscripts examined and collated for this edition...."

It will be clear from the above rather extensive quotation from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar what, according to him, was the objective of the critical edition of the mb. Sukthankar and other editors of the *mb* never claimed to have aimed at a restoration of the original archetype or the Ur-mahābhārata. it will be relevant here to refer our readers to the controversy between Sukthankar and S. Levi which has been alluded to by Sukthankar in a foot-note on the page (p. 103) from which the above quotation has been taken, Sukthankar has quoted S. Levi who in a review of the critical edition of the Ādiparvan said in effect : "I advise the editor to renounce the reconstruction of the Ur-mahābhārata, as he is pleased to call it." Sukthankar has remarked on this statement that it is false, meaning thereby that the critical edition never claimed to have aimed at the reconstruction of the ur-Mahābhārata. It is certainly improper and unfair on the part of critics (e.g.S., Levi then and B. now) to foist on the editors of the critical edition a claim which they never made but which, on other hand, they clearly disavowed. and to find fault with them for their not having been able to fulfil it.

We have selected some statemtns from B.'s article which is full of vague generalizations and have subjected them to critical analysis in which we have quoted, to answer her vague contentions, passages from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar himself–pioneer of *mb* textual criticism. It will be clear to the readers that many of the objections of B. have already been dealt with in one form or another by Sukthankar. We regret to say that B in her article appears to have made no contribution to the *mb* textual criticism. As we have pointed out in the beginning, B. has not given a single concrete illustration of a passage or passages from the critical edition of the mb in support of her vague contentions, When we

consider that the critical edition of the mb after over forty years of labour which eminent scholars have put in the field of textual criticism, stands before us as a *fait accompli*, vague statments made by B. in her article will no doubt appear on that background as not only full of antiquated or outdated ideas reminding one of Rip van Winkle but also of obscurantist ideas which militate against the very science of textual criticism.

B. has concluded her article by inviting the expressions of opinions on the points she has raised. We have expressed our opinion in the foregoing part of this article. Rather than being content with a more expression of our opinion, we would like to go a step further and, in the interest of the science of textual criticism, would like to make a request to her in the form of a concrete propsal. From her remarks on page 123 of her article, it appears that she is not against the critical edition of ancient texts should be 'critically edited' to a certain extent, Now we would request her to come down from the level of generalities and try her hand at some such practical task of 'critically editing' a text to the extent which she may have in view. She should publish a sort of fascicule of a critically edited text, of some epic or Purāṇa passage, embodying her own suggestions (made on page 123 of her article) namely : "Publishing not only the different recensions but when necessary, different versions of each recension, publishing the different texts in parallel, checking the manuscript evidence and strengthening it through consultations with the people who have a firsthand knowledge of the epics and the purāṇas". The publication of such fascicule on her part would certainly be a practical demonstration of her thesis, thus rescuing her method from the fog of generality and consequent ambiguity and would set the stage for fruitful discussion among serious students of textual criticism.

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PURĀṆIC HERITAGE*

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[आधुनिकभारतवर्षस्यापि स्वधर्म-दर्शन-संस्कृति-राजनीति-समाज-व्यवस्था-प्राचीनेतिहासादिषु विषये पुराणानां प्रभावः स्पष्टं प्रतिभातीति नात्र काऽपि विप्रतिपत्तिः । ग्रामेषु नगरेषु अपठितजनताया व्रतोपवासादिष्वपि पुराणानां प्रभावो दृश्यत एव । यद्यपि प्रचलितहिन्दुधर्मदर्शनादीनां मूलं भारतवर्षस्य प्राचीनतमे वैदिकवाङ्मये अन्वेष्टुं शक्यते, परन्तु वैदिकवाङ्मयः सर्वसुलभो न वर्त्तते, पुराणानि तु जनसामान्यस्य कृते श्रवणाय पठनाय विहितानीत्यस्ति तेषां वैशिष्ट्यम् । अतएव पुराणानि "पञ्चमो वेद" इति कथ्यन्ते ब्राह्मणोपनिषदादिषु । अपरं , बहूनां वैदिकवचनानां वैदिकाख्यानानां व्याख्या उपबृंहणं यत्र तत्र पुराणेषूपलभ्यते । पुराणेषु प्राचीनतमधार्मिकपरम्पराणां परिचयोऽपि क्वचित्-क्वचित् प्राप्यते याः परम्परा वेदेष्वपि निबद्धा न वर्त्तन्त, अतएव पुराणेष्वेवोक्तं–"पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् । अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ।।" इति । अतएव आधुनिककाले पुराणानां महत्त्वं प्रभावश्च वेदेभ्योऽप्यधिको मन्यते इति वक्तुं शक्यते । एतादृशं पुराणसाहित्यं निधिरूपेण अस्मभ्यं परम्परागतो हस्तगतमिति भारतीयानामस्माकं महत् सौभाग्यम् । पुनश्च पुराणानि देशकालानुसारं समये-समये संस्कृतानि संक्षिप्तानि परिवर्धितानि चेत्यत्र विषयेऽस्ति तेषां भूषणं न तु दूषणं, येन तानि सदैव युगानुरूपाणि भूत्वा सर्वत्र जनताया धर्मविषये मार्गदर्शकानि संजातानि । पुराणवाङ्मयं तु सर्वविद्यानिधित्वेन स्वकं महत्त्वं प्रतिपादयति । उच्यते स्कन्दपुराणेऽपि–"पुराणमखिलं सर्वशास्त्रमयं ध्रुवम्" । नास्ति काचिद् मानवोपयोगिनी पुरातनविद्या या पुराणेषु नोपलभ्यते । इतिहासः, भुवनकोशः, राजनीतिः, व्यवहारनीतिः, समाजनीतिः, वर्णाश्रमधर्माः, तन्त्रविषयाः, धर्मशास्त्रविषयाः, आयुर्वेदः, ज्यौतिषं, साहित्यशास्त्रोपयोगिनो अलंकाराश्छन्दांसि च, रत्नपरीक्षा, हस्त्यश्वादिपरीक्षा, सृष्टिविद्या, विज्ञानमित्यादि सर्वमेव पुराणेषु तत्र तत्रोपनिबद्धम् । सम्यगधीतानि सम्यगाचरितानि पुराणानि भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदानानि भवन्तीति विद्वत्सम्मतम् ।]

पुराणानां बहूनाम् आख्यानानां समानानि आख्यानानि उपाख्यानानि च रोमनग्रीकादिसाहित्येष्वपि वर्त्तन्ते । एतां समतामाधारीकृत्यैव पाश्चात्यदेशेषु तुलनात्मकं

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*. Paper submitted to the World Sanskrit Conference, 1972. It is given here in a revised form.

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पुराणविज्ञानं (Comparative Mythology इति नाम्ना) आरब्धं तथा संवर्धितमित्यस्ति पुराणानामन्तरराष्ट्रियोपयोगिताऽपि । अस्मिन् निबन्धे एतत्सर्वं विशदीकृतम् ।]

Importance of the Purāṇa-s-as our Precious Heritage

Ancient Sanskrit literature coming down to us surpasses all the extant ancient literatures of the world in its vastness and also in its being a rich and valuable heritage for humanity in the field of the philosophical, religious and ethical thoughts contributing most to the evolution of the well-cherished human values. *Sruti* and *Smṛti* are the two main branches of the religious Sanskrit literature, and Purāṇa-s are considered even more important than the *Śruti* on account of their contribution to the all-round building of the Hindu society, not only in India but also in the other adjoining countries of Greater India e.g. a *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is "the sacred work of the Śiva-worshippers on the island of Bali."[1]

The *Purāṇa* as a branch of learning or *vidyā* has been mentioned as originated from Brahmā (°an) even before the Veda-s issued forth from his mouths.[2] And in fact, even the extant Purāṇas preserve in them certain ancient traditions that have their root in pre-Vedic times. Then again, Veda-s were not accessible to the general masses of the Hindu society on account of the unique sanctity attached to them. But such was not the case with the Purāṇa-s, which were meant not only for the learned scholars of the upper strata of the Hindu society, but also for the common man for whom they were specially composed and then redacted several times in order to make them up-to-date according to the changing times and the changed social and political condition of the society, so that they may serve as the permanent religious and cultural guides for the society in general.

On account of the divine origin ascribed to the Purāṇa-s as mentioned above[3] the Purāṇa-s came to acquire the status of the Veda-s. Even in the

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1. Mentioned by R. Friedrich, *JRAS* 1876, p. 171. The Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa is an abridged prose translation of the original Sanskrit work or a translation of an abridged form of the original Sanskrit work; Cf. J. Gonda: The Old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa in PURĀṆA, Vol. II. (July, 1960) pp. 252-267.
2. *Cf.* पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
नित्यं शब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ।
-Matsya P. 4.3-4; of. also Vāyu 1.54.,
Bd. I. 1.40, Padma, Sṛ-Kh. 1.45, Mārk. 45.20, Brahma 161.27; etc.
3. See fn. 2 above. Also cf. Br-Up. II 4.10.
"अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः इतिहासः पुराणं ।"

Brāhmaṇa-s this status of the Purāṇa-s was recognised. The *Śat. Br.* and *Gopatha-Br.* both have used the epithet *'Veda'* for the *'Purāṇa'*.[4] The *Purāṇa* was regarded as the fifth *Veda*.[5] The study of the Purāṇa-s therefore, was held to be more important even than the study of the Veda-s, Vedāṅga-s and the Upaniṣads.[6] The *Purāṇa*-s became the *Veda-s* of the laity, and they were enjoined to be read and listened to by all the four Varṇas of the Hindu society. Thus the Śūdras etc. who were forbidden to study the Veda-s were compensated by allowing them access to the *Purāṇa* and the *Itihāsa*[7], respectively called also as the *Purāṇa*- Veda and the *Itihāsa-Veda*.[8]

Purāṇas have been the main fountain head of most of the Hindu traditions, social customs, religious rites, ethical codes, philosophical thoughts and mythological legends symbolizing the most abstruse truths of eternal value. Purāṇas have their own cosmological theories which though akin to the *Sāṁkhya* theories of creation are yet different from them to some extent, embedded as they are with Purāṇic mythological ideologies. Then the theories and descriptions of the four kinds of *pralaya*, fourteen Manvantara-s, genealogies of gods, sages and kings and the various *ākhyāna-s, upākhyāna-s* and *itihāsa-s* relating to them, the Purāṇic *Bhuvana-kośa,* comprising the account of the entire terrestrial expanse, description and glorification of the various sacred places with *ākhyāna-s* relating to them-all this makes the *Purāṇa* a distinct branch of learning which may be called the *Purāṇa-vidyā.* The *Purāṇa,* therefore, is regarded as one of the fourteen *Vidyā-s.*[9] A scholar versed in the Purāṇic lore was called a *Paurāṇika* whose status was in no way inferior to that of the scholars of other branches of learning (such as the Naiyāyika-s, Mīmāṁsaka-s etc).

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4. *Cf.* "अथ नवमेऽहन् तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत (Śat. Br.,XII.4.3.13), and "उदीच्या इतिहासवेदं ध्रुवायाश्चोर्ध्वायाश्च पुराणवेदम् (Gopatha Br. 1.10).
   Also cf. Vāyu -"पुराणवेदो ह्यखिलस्तस्मिन् सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठितः ।"
5. *Cf.* "...इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेद...." Chā-Up VII. 1.2.
6. *Cf.. Vāyu-P. 1.180.*
   यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
   न चेत् पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद् विचक्षणः ॥
7. *Cf.. Bhāg.-P. 1. 4.25.*
   स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा ।
   कर्मश्रेयसि मूढानां श्रेय एवं भवेदिह !
   इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ॥
8. *Cf..* fn. 4. above
9. *Cf.. Viṣṇu. P.* III. 6.28 :

The *Veda* has been regarded as the main source of *dharma*[10]; and as the Purāṇa-s and Itihāsa (which also belongs to the category of the Purāṇa) elaborate and clarify the statements of the vedas, [11] the Purāṇa-s and the Itihāsa-s also constitute, next to Veda-s, the most important source of the *dharma*. Purāṇa-s have, therefore, been called as the *Dharma-śāstra-s*,[12] and most of the religious ritues and ideas of the Hindu have their root in the *Purāṇa-s*. The medieval *Dharma-Nibandhas*, therefore, profusely draw upon the Purāṇa-s. The *Purāṇa-s*, along with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, have also been included in the literature called as Jaya,[13] the sudy of the which is said as conducive to Jaya or victory.[14]

Along with the Upaniṣad-s and the Darśana-s the Purāṇas have been mentioned as the highest authority (*parā pramā)* for the knowledge of Brahman.[15] The *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (II. 24.23) says the Vedic *Brahmavidyā* is not acquired from any other sources. Although the Veda-s

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अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥
Cf. also Yājñavalkya Smṛ. 1.3.

10. *Cf.*. Manu-Smṛ.S 2.6a: "वेदोखिलो धममूलम्"
also Kūrma-P. (cr. edn) I. 11.267b : "वेदाद् धर्मो हि निर्बभौ".

11. *Cf.* इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्
–(Vāyu-P.,) 1.281, Mor edn.
(V.l. वेदार्थानुपबृंहयेत्, Kūrma-P.2.19.24).
Also cf. *Mbh.* I. 1.67.

12. *Cf. Bhaviṣya-P.*I. 1.65f. :
एतानि कुरुशार्दूल धर्मशास्त्राणि पण्डितैः ।
साधारणानि प्रोक्तानि वर्णानां श्रेयसे सदा ॥
चतुर्णामिह राजेन्द्र श्रोतुमर्हसि सुव्रत ।
[एतानि i.e. पुराणानि enumerated in 61-64 ślokas]
The *Mahābhārata* also calls itself as a 'धर्मशास्त्र'
(I. 2.383).

13. *Cf.* अष्टादश पुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
कार्ष्णं वेदं पञ्चमं च यन्महाभारतं स्मृतम् ॥
तथैव विष्णुधर्माश्च शिवधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ।
जयेति नाम तेषां च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥
(*Bhaviṣya-P.* I.4. 86-88)

14. *Cf.* जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा ।
महीं विजयते सर्वां शत्रूंश्चापि पराजयन् ॥
–(*Mbh.*, I. 62.20, Cr. edn., I. 56.19).
In his Comm. on the *Harivaṁśa* Nīlakaṇṭha explains the *Jaya* as जयत्यविद्यामनेनेति जयसंज्ञमविद्याध्वान्तनाशकं ग्रन्थम् ।

15. *Cf. Kūrma-P.* 2.24.22.

including the Vedānta-s (or the Upaniṣad-s) are the primary source both of *dharma* and *Brahma-vidyā*, yet as the Dharmaśāstra-s (comprising the Dharma-sūtra-s and the metrical Smṛti-s) and the Purāṇas both constitute what is called as the *upabṛṁhaṇa* of the Vedas[16], the Dharmaśāstra-s and the Purāṇa-s have, therefore, been respectively the main source of the *dharma* (religious theories and performances) and the *Brahma-vidyā* (knowledge of the Absolute Self).[17] The Purāṇas, being also regarded as the Dharma-śāstra-s, are thus the source both of the *dharma* and the *jñāna* (i. e. Brahmavidyā), and hence in the field of religion and metaphysics the Purāṇa-s (including the Itihāsa-s) have acquired more importance and higher authority than the Dharma-śāstra-s.

Out of the five special topics of the Purāṇa-s (सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, वंश, मन्वन्तर and वंशानुचरित), the royal genealogical lists (comprising वंश) have been the main literary source, besides the accounts written by the foreigners, for constructing the modern political history of ancient India. The royal dynastic lists from the earliest time up to the Āndhras and the Guptas, contained in the Purāṇa's, have generally been corroborated and supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidences. The discrepancies occuring in the various genealogical tables given in the different Purāṇa-s are but natural considering the varying ancient traditions as their source, and the timely redactions of the Purāṇa-s by different hands. These discrepancies are explained, to some extent, by Pargiter in *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions.* Our knowledge of the ancient and medieval geography of India is mainly based on the *Bhuvana-Kośa* of the Purāṇa-s, while the knowledge of the ethnography of Indian sub-continent is also contributed by the lists of the Jana-pada-s given in the *Bhuvana-kośa* and the *Kūrma-vibhāga* chapters of the Purāṇa-s.

Purāṇa-s have also contributed to the emergence, in the West, of the modern science of comparative mythology; for, many of the Purāṇic mythological legends have their parallels in Greek and Roman

16. *Cf. Kūrma-P.* (cr. edn.) II. 24. 21-22 :–
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च वेदानामुपबृंहणम् ।
एकस्माद् ब्रह्मविज्ञानं धर्मज्ञानं तथैकतः ॥
धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां तत्प्रमाणतरं स्मृतम् ।
धर्मशास्त्रं, पुराणं तद् ब्रह्मज्ञाने परा प्रमा ॥

17. *Cf. Kūrma-P.* (cr. edn.)

mythologies, as indicated by several modern works written on Aryan mythologies.

Classification of the Purāṇa-s from the point of their Contributions to Knowledge

From the one original Purāṇa of the divine origin,[18] or from the one original *Purāṇa-Saṁhitā* composed (or compiled) by Vyāsa and handed over by him to his disciple Sūta Romaharṣaṇa,[19] the Purāṇa literature grew into the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇa-s* with an extent of four lacs of Ślokas and eighteen Upapurāṇa-s suppplemented later on by the eighteen *Auppapurāṇa-s,* local Purāṇa-s and a large number of *Māhātmya-s* and *Vratakathā-s* all attributed to one or the other of the main Purāṇa-s. The evolution of this vast and extensive Purāṇic literature which has made valuable contributions to human knowledge took several centuries. According to Prof. Kane the compilation of the extant Purāṇa-s was completed by the 9th century A.D., and the Upapurāṇa-s began to be compiled from about the 7th or the 8th century A.D., and their number went on increasing till about the 13th century or even later.[20] But even after that, additions or interpolations continued to be made and thus the total extent of the Purāṇas has further swelled to more than four lacs of ślokas.[21]

From the point of their contribution to Hindu religion and its various sects the Purāṇa-s or rather the Mahāpurāṇa-s have been classified into the three classes : as (1) *Sāttvika,* (2) *Rājasa* and (3) *Tāmasa* or according to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (53.68-69) into the four classes, adding the *Saṁkīrṇa* class to the above three classes. According to the Padma-P. (Ān edn. VI.263.81.85) the (1) *Sāttvika* Purāṇa-s are–Viṣṇu, Nāradīya, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma and Varāha, (2) the *Rājasa* Purāṇas are :– Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana and Brahma, (3) the *Tāmasa* Purāṇa-s are–Matsya, Kūrma, Liṅga, Śiva (or Vāyu), Skanda and Agni.

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18. See fn. 3 and 4 above.
19. *Cf. Viṣ-P.* III. 6.15-16.
20. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. V, Part II., p. 855.
21. Cf. Bhaviṣya-*P.* I. 1. 104-105 :–
पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यानैर्विविधैर्नृप ।
यथास्माकं तथा चेदं भविष्यं कुरुनन्दन ॥
स्कान्दं शतसहस्रं तु लोकानां ज्ञातमेव हि ।
भविष्यमेतदृषिणा लक्षार्धं संख्यया कृतम् ॥
This statement of the *Bhav.-P.* illustrates how the Purāṇas have grown in their bulk.

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (53.68-69) the (1) *Sāttvika* Purāṇas are devoted more to the glorification of Hari or Viṣṇu (and therefore they are more Vaiśṇava in their character and have contributed a lot to Viṣṇuism). (2) the *Rājasa* Purāṇa-s are devoted more to the glorification of Brahmā and Brahmā worship (3) the *Tāmasa* Purāṇa-s glorify Śiva and Agni (which has also been regarded as one of the eight *tanu-s* or forms of Rudra-Śiva) and therefore they are more Śaivite in their character, and (4) the *Saṁkīrṇa* Purāṇa-s (which have not been enumerated) glorify Goddess Sarasvatī and the Pitṛ-s (or the Manes), which glorification, perhaps, contributed to the rise of the Sārasvata-cult, some indication of which is to be traced in the *Skanda-Purāṇa.*[22]

The Skanda-Purāṇa (VII.1.2.89) merely mentions the number of the Purāṇa-s which sing the glory of the four deities. Thus according to it, Viṣṇu is praised in the four, Brahmā in two, Ravi or the Sun also in the two, and Śiva is praised in the remaining ten Purāṇas.

The above is the classification of the eighteen Purāṇa-s according to the Deities gloried in them, which may indicate their contribution to the evolution of the main religious sects, viz. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Brahmaism, Śākta (and Sārasvata) cult, and the cult of Sun-worship. This sectarian classification of the Purāṇa-s is given in the Padma-Purāṇa as noted above and also in the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* (II. III. 28.10-15). This division, however, is based on the sectarian spirit, which may be inferred from the fact that the *Padma-P.* which is predominantly a Vaiśṇava Purāṇa places the *Varāha-Purāṇa* in the *Sāttvika* division but the *Bhav.-P.* places this Purāṇa (Varāḥa) in the *Tāmasa* division; similarly the *Matsya* and *Kūrma* Purāṇa-s are both placed in the *Tāmasa* division by the *Padma-P.* while they are placed in the *Rājasa* division in the *Bhav.-P.* But this threefold (or fourfold according to the *Matsya)* classification of the Purāṇa-s which is mentioned in the Purāṇa-s themselves gives no indication of the Purāṇic contributions in the other important spheres of human knowledge and institutions. The modern classification of the Purāṇa-s, according to their main topics, however, as suggested by Haraprasada Sastri and P.V. Kane is quite useful in this respect.[23]

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22. Cf. the story of Mṛgamukhī as given in the *Sk.-P.*, Prabhāsa–Kh., Vastrāpatha-māhātmya, Adhs. 6,7.
23. Vide Haraprasada Śastri's article in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* : Patna, XIV, pp. 330-7 and P.V. Kane, *op.cit.*, p.842.

According to this modern classification which may throw a light on the various important contributions which the Purāṇa-s have made, the Purāṇa-s have been groupped as follows :

1. *Encyclopaedic* :–Agni, Garuḍa and Nāradīya. Purāṇa-s are said to be *sarva-śāstramaya* i.e. dealing with almost all the aspects and branches of human knowledge.[24] This all comprehensive character of the Purāṇa-s is amply illustrated in these three Purāṇas. Besides dealing with the *Pañca-lakṣaṇa-s, Bhuvana-kośa, tīrtha-s, vrata-s, upavāsa-s,* mythological legends, etc. these three Purāṇa-s also deal with such secular subjects as medicine, astrology, omens, grammar, figures of speech, *ratna-parīkṣā,* politics, etc. which are of immense human interest. They also contain *tāntrika* elements, *tāntrika* mode of worship and *tāntrika* formulas.

2. *Sectarian*–As Brahma-vaivarta, Liṅga, Śaiva, Mārkaṇḍeya and Devī-Bhāgavata. Though majority of the Purāṇa-s are of non-sectarian type, displaying a reconciling spirit and a trend of synthesis, yet there are some Purāṇa-s which are tainted with a narrow sectarian bias. For example, *Brahma-vaivarta* is more inclined to Vaiṣṇavism or the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, *Śaiva* and *Liṅga* to Śaivism and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* to Śakti-cult. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* elaborately deals with the cult of the Sun-worship and its origin. This Purāṇa (*Bhv.-P)* also contains a somewhat different version of the *Satyanārāyaṇa-vrata-kathā*, the SkandaPurāṇa (Bengali MSS)-version of which is so prevalent among the Hindus all over India.

3. *Historical*–Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu etc. Preservation of the genealogical lists of the ancient royal dynasties of India was a task which was specially entrusted to the Paurāṇika Sūta. The majority of the Mahāpurāṇa-s contain these genealogical lists and other valuable historical material. They begin these genealogical accounts from Vaivasvata Manu upto the Mahābhārata war in the past tense, but the accounts after the Mahābhārata war upto the Āndhra dynasty in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and upto the Gupta-dynasty in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, starting from the *samprate* king (the then-ruling monarch) the accounts are given in the future tense in the prophetic tone. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* takes king Parikṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, ruling at Hastināpura, as the *sāmprata* king[25] and the Matsya-Purāṇa and the Vāyu-Purāṇa both have taken

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24. *Cf.* ततः [आविर्भूतं] पुराणमखिलं सर्वशास्त्रमयं ध्रुवम् ।
नित्यशब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
–Sk., Prabhāsa-Kh., Pradhāsa-Kṣetra-māhātmya 2, 4)

24a. Cf. Vāyu p. 1.31f.

25. Viṣṇu P. IV. 20. 52-53 ;

king Adhiso (or sī)-makṛṣaṇa, the great-grandson of king Parikṣit, as the *sāmprata king.*[26] Pargiter has utilised these lists in his two valuable works–*Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* and *Purāṇa-text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.* The political history of ancient India has mainly been constructed on the basis of these Purāṇic genealogies as already mentioned.

4. *Mainly dealing with the tīrtha-s*–Such as Padma, Skanda etc. Tīrtha-s and tīrtha-yātrā-s (pilgrimages) occupy a very important place in almost all the religions of the world. But it is in the Indian religion, specially in Hinduism, that tīrtha-s and yātrā-s have come to be regarded as having a most important place in the religious life of the different sects of Hinduism and other sister religions. The Purāṇa-s and Upa-Purāṇa-s contain accounts of tīrtha-s, their *māhātmya-s,* and the rules of the and the merits accruing from going on the pilgrimages. The sacred rivers, sacred places situated on the banks of these rivers, forests and mountain-caves sanctified by the inhabitance and penances of the great ancient sages–all were regarded as the places of pilgrimage. Their importance as religious places has not dwindled even in this modern material age. The contribution of the Purāṇa-s in infusing the religious zeal and reverence for visiting places, and thus gaining a practical geographical knowledge of the country besides acquiring meritorious fruits, spiritual advancement and mental peace, is no mean thing. These tīrtha-s are scattered all over India, from the Himālayas in the North to the cape Kumari in the South and from the Western sea in Gujrat and Maharastra in the West upto the hills of Assam in the East. The Purāṇa-s contain the charming account of all these tīrtha-s of Bhārata-varṣa which though politically divided in those days was culturally united by the Purāṇa-s. The linguistic, regional and even ethnic differences could not break this remarkable cultural unity of this country; and it was all due to the love of the tīrtha-s engendered by the Purāṇa-s in the hearts of the people of India. Thousands of pilgrims still visit these sacred places where they lose all their superficial differences just as the rivers flowing from and over the different places of the country lose their separate identity by falling into the sea. These tīrtha-s are still the places of interest for the tourists on account of their archaeological or historical importance, but it is the Purāṇa-s which have impressed upon

"......परीक्षिज्जज्ञे ॥ सोऽयं साम्प्रतमेतद् भूमण्डलमखण्डायतिधर्मेण पालयतीति" ॥

26. *Matsya-P.* 50.66 :
अथाश्वमेघेन ततः शतानीकस्य वीर्यवान् ।
जज्ञेऽधिसोमकृष्णाख्यः साम्प्रतं यो महायशाः ।

Cf. *Vāyu-P.* 1.12 ff. also.

our mind their religious and spiritual importance, which from the Indian (or Purāṇic) point of view has a greater value for us for the upward march of life.

Contribution of the Purāṇas to the knowledge of the ancient geography of India

As has already been mentioned, the *Bhuvana-kośa* (or the *Bhuvana vinyāsa)* of the Purāṇa-s has been the main source of our knowledge of the ancient Indian geography. The accounts of the *janapada-s,* mountains, rivers, etc. as given in the Purāṇa-s can be corroborated by their identification even now, thus these accounts are not speculative and fictitious. Bhārata-varṣa was considered to be a part of the Jambu-dvīpa i.e. one of the nine *varṣa-s* of the Jambu-dvīpa, situated on its southernmost side according to the *sapta-dvīpa* theory of the Purāṇa-s, which is contained in the *Agni, Bhāgavata, Brāhma, Garuḍa, Kūrma, Liṅga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Vāyu* and *Viṣṇu*. But in the *catur dvīpa* theory which is met only in the Vāyu Purāṇa and also in the old Buddhist texts, Bhārata-varṣa has been identified with the Jambu-dvīpa. The term Bhārata-varṣa in the Purāṇa-s connotes what is known as the Greater India now. Bhārata-varṣa consisted of nine dvīpa-s, viz. Indradyumna, Kaserumān, Tāmra-Parṇa (or-varṇa), Gabhastimān, Nāga-dvīpa. Saumya. Gandharva, Varuṇa and Kumāra dvīpa or the India proper The expanse of Bhārata-varṣa (or Greater India) is said to be nine thousand Yojanas while that of the Kumāra-dvīpa (or India Proper) is said to be one thousand yojanas from north to south. It (India Proper) contains the seven *Kula-parvata-s* or mountain-ranges, viz. the Mahendra, the Malaya, the Sahya, the Śuktimān, the Ṛkṣa, the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra. Rivers are mentioned as flowing from the Himālayas and from these seven Kula-parvata-s; and Janapada-s are mentioned as the regions through which these rivers flow. Besides the seven Kula-Parvata-s a number of other mountains or hills are also mentioned. The Purāṇic list of the Janapada-s is very important from the ethnic point of view also. The lists of the Janapada-s according to their positions and directions are divided into seven divisions, viz. the Central division (*Madhya-deśa*), Northern (*Uttarāpatha*), Eastern (*Prācya*), Southern (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*), Western *(Apparānta)*, Vindhya and the Himālaya. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (II.3. 15-18); *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (Cr. Edn. I. 45. 39-42), and *Agni-Purāṇa* the lists are shorter consisting of the few names but indicating their directions; but in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57. 32-58), *Brahmāṇḍa* (I, 16. 40-69), *Matsya* (114.34.57), *Vāyu* (45.109-137),

Brāhma (27.41-70), and *Vāmana Purāṇa* (cr. edn. 11, 31-46) there are longer lists, and they include all the geographical data of the shorter lists also.[27]

The accounts of the other eight Varṣa-s of the Jambu-dvīpa besides the Bhārata-varṣa and of the other six (Mahā) Dvīpas besides the Jambu-dvīpa which is regarded as the central (Mahā) Dvīpa in the *saptadvīpa* theory are generally speculative and so they need not detain us here.

Contribution of the Purāṇa-s to the reconcilation of the sectarian ideologies

The Purāṇa-s were the best media for the expansion and propagation of sectarian views of the various sects of Hinduism. We, therefore, find some narrow sectarian traces in some of the Purāṇa-s and Upaurāṇas. But even such so-colleg Purāṇas occasionally exhibit broader and healthy reconciling trends and thus rise above the narrow sectarian spirit of the age. Thus the extant Purāṇas are not mainly sectarian. In fact, the Purāṇa-s contain not much that can be labelled as purely sectarian. If we take a broader and complete view of the Purāṇa-s, we can easily discern in them the highest philosophical conception of the Trinity or the *Trimūrti* (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra) and the other deities of Hinduism free from any sectarian bias. In fact, the Supreme Brahman, the ultimate and Highest Conscious Reality is termed sometimes as Brahmā, sometimes as Viṣṇu and sometimes as Śiva or Rudra, to whom the functions of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe are respectively assigned. The three Gods of the Purāṇic Trinity are sometimes treated separately as *saguṇa* forms of the Absolute Brahman, and sometimes each of them is identified with the Absolute Brahman in different Purāṇa-s, and sometimes, according to the context they are identified with each other also. For example, the Kūrma-Purāṇa (cr. edn. II. 11. 3-116) expressly advocates the unity and identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva. But sometimes according to the context and not with any sectarian bias, one deity is described as superior to the other two. In reality, according to the oft-expressed views of the Purāṇa-s there is no real difference between the Supreme Brahman and its *saguṇa* manifestations into the three or more deities, nor between one deity and the other. Kālidāsa, the great poet of India and the true exponent of the Indian thought and culture in the field

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27. Cf. also C.A. Lewis : The Geographical Texts of the Purāṇa-s in *Purāṇa*, Vol. IV (1962) pp. 112-145, 245-276 and V. S. Agrawala 'Bhuvanakośa Janapada-s of Bhāratavarṣa' in *Purāṇa*, V.1 (Jan., 1963) pp. 160 ff.

of the classical poetry, expresses this truth of the identity and oneness of the three deities in his *Kumāra-saṁbhava* (7.44) :–

एकैव मूर्त्तिर्विभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद् वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥

Thus the Purāṇa-s have played an important part in reconciling the mutually conflicting sectarian spirits of their respective ages, and thus upholding and enhancing the cause of the cultural and religious unity of Bhārata-varṣa.

Contribution of the Purāṇa-s to the exposition of the philosophical thoughts

Philosophical speculations and ideas constitute the main topics of the Upaniṣad-s and the Darśana-s, but it is in the Purāṇa-s that they are presented and elaborated in the form of the *ākhyāna-s* which can be understood even by the common man. As an example the *ākhyāna-s* of Jaḍa-Bharata and the dialogue between him and the king of the Sauvīra country (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II.13-14) bring out the real nature of the Self as distinguished from the body. Similarly the *ākhyāna* of Ṛbhu and Nidāgha (*Viṣ. P.* II.15) gives an interesting exposition of the *advaita* theory of *abheda* (non-difference) between Vāsudeva and the physical world. The *ākhyāna* of Keśi-dhvaja and Khāṇḍikya (*Vis.P.* VI.6-7) presents the *Brahma-yoga* (means of the realising Brahman) in a very lucid form. Similarly the Iśvaragītā of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (II.1-11) contains an account of the *Kāpālika yoga* which is a sort of combination of the *Pātañjala Yoga* and the *Haṭha-Yoga* tinged with the advaitic ideology of the Śaiva-philosophy. Such philosophical *ākhyāna-s* are contained in many of the Purāṇa-s for the benefit of the common man for whom the Purāṇa-s were specially composed.

Deification and Sublimation in the Purāṇa-s

Deification of the natural objects and living beings and sublimation of our instincts and passions are two of the main characteristics of the Hindu religious philosophy, as may be clear from the various statements and accounts contained in the Veda-s and the Purāṇa-s. The *prāṇa-vidyā* and the *pratīka-upāsanā* (worship through symbols) mentioned in the Upaniṣad-s,[28] and conceiving all masculine objects and beings as Viṣṇu and Śiva, and all feminine objects and beings as Lakṣmī and Gaurī in the

28. For *prāṇa-vidyā* see *Praśna-Upaniṣad* (2-3), and for the *pratīka-upāsanā* see *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad.* Brahmānanda-vallī Anuvāka-s 2-3, where the worship of the *anna* (food) and the *prāṇa* as *Brahman* is recommended.

Purāṇa-s[29] are some of the examples of deification. Similarly, the *pañcāgnividyā* of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (5.3.9) and the *rāsa-utsava* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and *Gopī-s* in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (X. 29-33) are some good examples of sublimation of the sexual function and amorous sports respectively. By making a study of such and similar topics of the Veda-s and the Purāṇa-s with faith and reverence our mind can get rid of its frailties and lust and become fit for acquiring the knowledge of the Self and spiritual advancement, as the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa so clearly and emphatically puts it in the following words–

विक्रीडितं व्रजवधूभिरिदं च विष्णोः
श्रद्धान्वितोऽनुशृणुयादथ वर्णयेद् यः ।
भक्तिं परां भगवति प्रतिलभ्य कामं
हृद्रोगमाश्वपहिनोत्यचिरेण धीरः ॥

(X. 33.40)

("A wise person who listens to and narrates these amorous sports of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) with Gopī-s with faith becomes great devotee of God and soon gets rid of lust which is a kind of disease of the heart.")

Purāṇa-s contribution to the solution of some of the problems of the modern world

Mal-distribution of wealth and population-explosion are the two baffling problems of our times. Communism and Socialism try to solve the problem of mal-distribution by compulsion or nationalization. But the Purāṇa-s try to infuse a social spirit into the society as a whole as a self-discipline. They enjoin on the rich giving charities and monitory help to the needy and the learned who are worthy of such charities, and who in their turn may also serve the society, and on the other hand they strictly forbid those who are not worthy of such charities to refrain from receiving these charities, and thus the Purāṇa-s try to keep an economic balance in the society by propounding such healthy principles in the their chapters on

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29. *Cf. Viṣṇu-P.* I. 8.35 :
देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यादौ पुन्नामा भगवान् हरिः ।
स्त्रीनाम्नी श्रीश्च विज्ञेया नानयोर्विद्यते परम् ॥
and *Liṅga P.* II. 11.18 ff.
शंकरः पुरुषाः सर्वे स्त्रियः सर्वा महेश्वरी ।
पुंलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या ये ते च रुद्राः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
स्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या याः सर्वा गौर्या विभूतयः ॥

the *dāna-dharma*. The *KūrmaPurāṇa*[30] says that one should give away in charity what is left after the maintenance of his family to a learned man who is of good family, well-disciplined, self-restrained, of good character and poor. The Bhāgavata goes even further. It says that a man has a right to acquire as much wealth only as may suffice for his and his family's maintenance, if he tries to possess more, he is a thief and deserves punishment.[31] Thus the Purāṇa-s try to educate the society and to create a social sense and responsibility among its members to care for others also. Such ideas of the Purāṇa-s are even more revolutionary and socialistic and also more human and ennobling than theories of the present day communism and socialism.

As regards the population-explosion in the modern age, the prescription suggested by the Purāṇs-s may also be regarded as quite useful and befitting our culture. The Purāṇa-s recommend self-restraint in sexual matters and allow sexual intercoure for begetting progeny only and not for self-indulgence and satisfaction of our carnal desires, and hence the sublimation of the sexual instinct in the Purāṇas. In this regard and also for sake of establishing social and economic equilibrium we should remember the following *śloka of the Kūrma Purāṇa* :–

आत्मार्थं भोजनं यस्य रत्यर्थं यस्य मैथुनम् ।
वृत्त्यर्थं यस्य चाधीतं निष्फलं तस्य जीवितम् ॥

Kūrma-P. edn, cr., II. 19.18.

("One who cooks only for himself and fills his own belly, who indulges in sexual act only for the sexual pleasure, who acquires education only for earning money lives in vain.")

त्यागाय संभृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
यशसे विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥

(*Raghuvaṁśa* 1.7).

("Who accumulate wealth for the sake of giving it away, who speak measuredly for the sake of truth, who are desirous of victory or conquest

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30. *Kūrma P.* (cr. edn.) II 26.10-11.
कुटुम्बभक्तवसनाद् देयं यदतिरिच्यते ।
अन्यथा दीयते यद्धि न तद् दानं फलप्रदम् ॥
श्रोत्रियाय कुलीनाय विनीताय तपस्विने ।
वृत्तस्थाय दरिद्राय प्रदेयं भक्तिपूर्वकम् ॥

31. *Bhāgavata P.* VII. 14.8.
यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत् स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥

for the sake of fame and glory and who adopt household life for the sake of begetting offspring").

Thus in almost all matters of human interest the Purāṇa-s should be regarded as our most precious heritage.

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THE POSITION OF BRĀHMAṆAS AND COMMONERS UNDER THE RULE OF A TYRANT MONARCH*

BY

V.V. DESHPANDE

['पुराणम्' पत्रिकायां पूर्वं डा. ओमप्रकाशमहोदयस्य राज्ञां देवत्वविषयकः प्रजायास्तान्प्रति विद्रोहविषयकश्च निबन्धः प्रकाशितः । तस्य निबन्धस्य अस्यामेव पत्रिकायां श्रीदेशपाण्डेमहोदयेन समीक्षा कृता आसीद् यस्या उत्तरमत्रैव डा. ओमप्रकाशमहोदयेन प्रदत्तम् । अस्मिन् निबन्धे प्राध्यापकदेशपाण्डेमहोदयेन तस्य मतस्य पुनः समीक्षा कृता ।]

The last (Vasanta Pañcamī) number of the Purāṇa Bulletin (Vol. XIV, No. I; January, 1972) has published a Rejoinder by Dr. Om Prakash to my comment on his earlier Note on "The divinity of the King and the Right of Revolution in the Purāṇas", both published in the previous (*Vyāsa Pūrṇimā*) number of the same Bulletin (Vol XIII, No. 2; July, 1971). The writer of the Rejoinder has reiterated his earlier opinion, and has sought to re-establish his proposition "the right of tyrannicide was granted (by ancient Hindu thinkers, and also in the *Purāṇas*) openly and exclusively to the common people" by aducing fresh evidene of some verses from the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis of Yājñavalkya, Nārada, etc. He admits that the Purāṇas are silent on the point, states that Indologists have always used Purāṇic materials by way of corroborative evidence of their (Indologists') otherwise arrived conclusions. He acknowledges the plausibility of more than one interpretation of the purāṇic material; but claims correctness to his interpretation if consistency is to be maintained in the whole of the traditional attitude over this question, viz. "the people' right of Revolution against a tyrant monarch".

Dr. Om Prakash has defended his position by pointing out the continuity in, and the consistency of, the Indian tradition in this respect. According to him, the right to revolt against, and kill, a tyrant king (described as one who not only fails to duly protect his Dharmic subjecs,

*. Purāṇa, Vol. XIV, No.2 (July, 1972) pp. 147-159.

but himself commits heinous sins, and deliberately incites others to do the same) has all along been openly recognised (over the whole range of relevant Sanskrit literature such as the Vedas, the smṛtis, the Epics and the Purānas) and vested in the generality of the king's subiects. With respect to my comment on this position he says . "Professor Deshpande's allegation regarding the two preconceived notions of Indologists in general and himself in particular, may be justified when it can be proved that the right of revolt was granted exclusively to the *Brāhmaṇas.*" He agrees that "all the Purāṇic legends of tyrannicide exhibit only Brāhmaṇas in the forefront"; but adds : "(this is) a circumstance also explicable in terms of leadership reposed on the intellegentsia formed by Brāhmṇas alone."

Here are a few more statements of Dr. Om Prakash helpful in understanding his thoughts on the question :–On page 33 he states— "The concept of the basic right of self-defence may be modern, but man has been fighting for his self defence since the day he made his appearance on the planet. Similarly, the right of revolution may be modern but man has been rising in revolt whenever his collective existence was endangered as the result of the tyranny and oppression by the king. Ancient Indian thinkers formulated no regular scheme of the basic rights of man when they simply justified this collective action of the subjects oppressed beyond endurance. They viewed it as an extraordinary situation, not covered by any of the provisions of Rājadharma, for all codes stood abolished the moment the tyranny began. The only check, was the collective might of the disorganised people which can efficiently express itself when the limit is reached".

He, however, add the following in the next paragraph : "To say that the right of revolution was granted to the people does not mean that the Brāhmaṇas had no privilege. But in this respect at least the privileged Brāhmaṇas were equal to nonprivileged commoners. Whatever privilege the Brāhmaṇas had lasted only so long as the codes of duty were observed..... Tyranny was thus an axe which also fell on the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas as it fell on the common man. It rendered the Brāhmanas and the common man alike, and thus gave them a common cause. The equality of the Brāhmaṇas and the common man in the event of revolution is thus not a result of our so-called presumption that ancient Indian society was not a graded hierarcay, the rights possessed by one also belonged to the other. It was the work of the oppressive policies of the

tyrant which abolished distinction between the privileged and the non-privileged." In Dr. Om Prakash's view, Spellman, who is of the view that *Purāṇas,* under no circumstance, permit or tolerate tyrannicide is obviously wrong, as they abound in legends of tyrannicide, and he (Dr. Om Prakash) is glad because I have vindicated this stand of his by insisting that the right to kill a tyrant monarch was limited to the Brāhmaṇas only as they were traditionally held to be the guardians of the Dharma.

Dr. Om Prakash tries to distinguish between two situations, which according to him, are altogether different from one another. These are :– (1) The Brāhmaṇas vs. the King; and (2) The King vs. he *Dharma* or the common people. In case of the first situation obtaining, Dr. Om Prakash agrees that Dr. Ghosal and some other Indologists are right in holding that Manu grants his approval to the right of tyrannicide exclusively to the intellectual aristocracy ie. the Brhamaṇas in the following verse :– (Manu IX 320).

क्षत्रस्यातिप्रवृद्धस्य ब्राह्मणान् प्रति सर्वशः ।
ब्रह्मैव संनियन्तृ स्यात् क्षत्रं हि ब्रह्मसंभवम् ॥

He opines that as the Brāhmaṇas have an edge or the king (for his royal power owes it's genesis to the spiritual power of the *Brāhmaṇas* and not vice versa) this is entirely justifiable. But he asserts that Manu is silent on the other situation arising, as to what the common man or the Brāhmaṇas should do if a king starts wilfully oppressing his subjects and thereby slighting Dharma with or without coming into direct conflict with the Brāhmaṇas. It is under this sort of situation, Dr. On Prakash asserts, that the common man has been granted, by the ancient Hindu law-givers, the right to revolt against the oppressive king which may in extreme cases, extend to committing tyrannicide.

A perusal of this summary of Dr. Om Prakash's lengthy statement (made in his Rejoinder in refutation of my comments on the stand taken by him in his original Note) will convince the reader of the narrowness of the area of divergence that still continues to exist between our respective stands. He seems to have relied on these five propositions in the course of his argument viz :

(1) In order to correctly understand the nature of relationship between the king on the one hand and the *Brāhmaṇas* on the other, and the king on

the one hand and the generality of his subjects on the other. we must rely upon Indian tradition as elaborately exposed in the *Vedas, Smṛtis, epics* and *Purāṇas* as a whole. All these authoritative sources uphold only one tradition,which is both *consistent* with the other aspects of the total way of life, organised under the Śāstras arc concerned, as well as continuously followed from immemorially ancient times.

(2) Indologists have always used Purāṇic material only by way of corroborative evidence to maintain and support their otherwise-arrived-at conclusions. Hence it does not matter if we find *Purāṇas* to be silent on the right of the people to revolt against a tyrant king.

(3) The right of revolution, including that of tyrannicide, has been found in certain non-Purāṇic and epic passages, granted openly and exclusively to the generality of the people when the hierarchical order of the society (that is the *varṇāśrama Vyavasthā*) stands abodlished as the result of the tyrannical atrocities committed or directed by the king.

(4) The disorganised people (that is to say, the subjects of the king somehow living together, when the *Varṇāśrama Vyavasthā* is *completely abrogated* and has rendered the Brāhmaṇas and the commoners alike) will be justified in revolting against the king, and even in killing him. This, so far as the legends reerred to in *Manu, Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* go, the people have invariably done under the leadership of the Brāhmaṇas, because of the confidence reposed by the generality of the people in their learing and intelligence.

(5) Ancient Indian thinkers did not formulate any regular scheme of the basic rights of man : they simply justified the collective action of the subjects of a tyrant king to revolt against him when they were oppressed beyond endurance; whenever their collective existence was endangered as the result of the oppression and tyranny of the king.

Of these five propositions, it is not at all difficult to agree to the truth of the first. Broadly speaking, the whole range of the Sanskrit literature upholds only one, as the approved way to life for those who claim to be the faithful followers of Dharma as adumbrated in Vedas, its original source Smṛtis, Epics, purāṇas, etc, which are the derivative sources of Dharma. Only elaborate further the details of the way of life of the dharmic community · this unique way of life has come to be known in this world by the name of Varṇa-jāti-Āśrama Vyavasthā, or the elaborately planned order wherein essential social functions are found to

be distributed among the members of different hereditary castes, till they continue to be in the second–i. e. the house-holder stage of life. It is well known that these numerous hereditary castes have been grouped under the four Varṇas that is, hereditary-classes, consisting of several hereditary castes, of different territorial origin, as well as those whose hereditarily assigned functions are different from each other but which, on account of certain similarities, do fall under four broad-based categories–viz. the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. Those Indologists, who have tried to present different pictures of the Vedic community, and to read into Sanskrit literature, belonging to different historical periods, support for the pictures of their fancy have always been confronted with numerous insurmountable difficulties, both of (a) the impossibility of assigning correctly the position of different works by reference to the dates of their composition and (b) of arriving at a coherent interpretation of the statements found to be made even in any one of these works–works which are fully relied upon by the members of the Vedic community as their authoritative guides.

Dr. Om Prakash's second proposition is only partially correct. It is true that mostly Indologists have used Purānic material by way of corroborative evidence only to support their otherwise-arrived at conclusions. As stated above, Purāṇas are only a derivative source of authority on matters of *Dharma*. The principal purpose of their composition is to present to their readers, in eulogatory terms, legendry and historical episodes of kings, their dynasties, of Ṛṣis, and similar connected matters. They mainly reiterate, and sometimes supplement also, the codes of Dharmic (approved) conduct to be come across elsewhere. But so far as their silence on the point in question is concerned, Dr. Om Prakash's proposition is not correct. He has himself stated (on p. 32) that "almost all Purāṇic legends of tyrannicide exhibit only *Brāhmāṇas* in the forefront–a circumstance aso explicable in terms of the leadership reposed on the intellegentsia formed by the *Brāhmaṇas above*". He is also, cognisant of the verse from *Bhāgavata* Purāṇ where it is directed that "the person of the king is to be held sacrosanct, not to be striken down even if he violates all canons of morality and justice". In fact, the whole of his Note (P.B.Vol. XIII, No.2) is devoted to the refutation of the stand taken by Dr. John Spelman in this respect. Thus the Purāṇas have, on the one hand, supplied us with several legends of tyrannicide, where the

Brāhmaṇas alone have taken the decision to do away with the tyrant; and on the other, we come across a specific directive in the Bhāgaavta Purāṇa addressed to the people in general, not to strike-down the person of the king, even if he is sinful. These specific references from the Purāṇas hardly support Dr. Om Prakash's stand as to their silence on this crucial point. On the contrary, they amply fortify the view that the Brāhmaṇas, because of their superior social status have alone been charged with the responsibility to deal with critical situation the Vedic community had to face under the rule of a tyrant.

Propositions 3, 4 and 5 are newly, formulated by Dr. Om Prakash. These are not traceable in his Note; and they seem to have been brought in only to refute the statements made by me while commenting on his Note. But even a cursory perusal of these will reveal their incoherence and internal contradictions. In the first place, Dr. Om Prakash's tacit assumption regarding individual's rights, as the base on which fabric of the common life of the Vedic community has been built up, is questionable. Indian Indologists who have received guidance from scholars in the same field from the West are often times found committing this mistake. Communities in the West, whether rational or religious, because of the complete severance they had to suffer from their traditional past, were required to organise their common life by making a start with individual (who is assumed to be mostly self-contained) as the primary unit for whose sake and around whom important sectors of the common life are made to revolve. Rights of individuals, whether legal, moral or spiritual do therefore, form the base of the constitutional, legal or moral systems that have been elaborated in the West, for organising the common life of these communities. Such was not the case of the Vedic community, which was, from immemorially ancient times, organised and governed on the basis of an elaborately planned order, where the plan had already laid down in great detail the status and the function, the responsibility and the duties, of the members of each hereditary group belonging to the interdependent and ever continuing common life. To assume and talk of the activities of the members of different caste groups of such a community as being done by them on the exercise of their rights is therefore completely misleading. And in the case of Indologists born and bread in the tradition of Indian way of life, it is unpardonable also.

The contents of his fifth proposition, so far as its first half is concerned, correctly state the existing position but when it is more closely examined, it will be realised that, for all those thinkers, brought up in the Vedic tradition, there can exist no room for formulating any regular scheme of the basic rights of man, for the reasons given above. For similar reason his statement forming the third of the above given five propositions stikes a discordant note on the ears of a person trained in the immemorial and coherent tradition. Perhaps himself being aware of this, Dr. Om Prakash has diluted this statement when later on (as he maintains in the latter part of his fifth proposition) he admits that Indian thinkers have *"simply* justified the collective action of the subjects of a tyrant King to revolt against him when they were oppressed beyond endurance; whenever their collective existence was endangerd as the result of his intolerable oppression and tyranny", (p. 33.).

To students of law, the differences between all these situation are clearly perceptible. These can be stated as:–(a) a situation in which an individual is authorised, *in his unfettered discretion* to do, or to refrain from doing, a particular act, when he is confronted with particular circumstances and conditions; this situation can be described as the right situation, and the legal system provides in this case elaborate rules of procedure to facilitate the exercise of his legal rights by the individual; (b) a situation in which the individual is obligated to, or refrain from doing, a particular act when he finds himself confronted with particular circumstances and conditions : This situation is a duty weighed situation (where the duty may belong to the category of a dharmic duty, or of exclusively legal variety). Here the code of Dharma or law shall have laid down adequate sanctions against the individual for the non-performance of duty; and lastly (c) a situation, where a particular kind of action by an individual (and singular includes the plural also) is simply tolerated and treated as justified when it is taken by him (or them) or being confronted with specific conditions and circumstances. This is a different situation clearly distinguishable from the first two. The two verses quoted by Dr. Om Prakash from the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata (ch. 61-31, 32*). obviously do not constitute a declaration of rights in favour of the

* These verses are not traceable in the Gītā Press edn. of the Epic. The explanation is given here on the assumption of their authentic character.

King's subjects in general; nor do they proceed to impose any legal or Dharmik duty on them to revolt against the tyrant king. They belong the third category, that is to say they describe a course of action, that will be simply justifiable if any of his subjects were to resort to it, under such conditions and circumstances as are laid down in the Śāstra in that behalf.

The acknowledgement of the privileged position of the *Brāhmaṇas* by Dr. Om Prakash similarly discloses a lack of proper appreciation of the degree of social and political responsibility with which the members of that class were invested by the Śāstra. The verse :

प्रजापतिर्वैश्याय सृष्ट्वा परिददे पशून् ।
ब्राह्मणाय च राज्ञे च सर्वाः परिददे प्रजाः ।।"

is found in Manusmṛti (ch. IX, 327), and in Mahābhārata (Rāja dharmānuśāsana, 60-24). This is a clear authority for the proposition reognising the joint responsibility of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the king, in the matter of organising and regulating the common and individual life of the members of the community. Kullūka observes :

ब्रह्मा प्रजाश्च सर्वाः सृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणाय राज्ञे च रक्षणार्थ दतवान् ।"

It is therefore a part of the Dharmic duty imposed by the Śāstra on the *Brāhmaṇas,* that they are obliged to take suitable action for securing the over throw or deposition of a tyrant monarch. They will be liable for the commission of a grave sin if they fail to discharge this duty in the manner it is laid down in the Śāstra. It is therefore missing the whole point, when a suitable action is taken by the *Brāhmaṇas* in appropriate situation is stamped as the outcome of their privileged position, and not described as the proper discharge of their duty by them. Closer and comparative examination of the *right-biased* and the *duty-biased* socio-legal systems reveals that the former cannot be fully built up without special social entities being recognised as endowed with prerogatives, privileges, immunities, etc. This requirement is hardly felt in a society bound by a duty-biased system, where, on account of the elaborately drawn-up plan, full-distribution of essential social functions, and the resulting duties, among the members of hereditary groups delineates in detail the several fields of activity respectively assigned to each of such groups, all together leading to a coherent interdependent common life. Here individuals are trained to be duty conscious, instead being habituated to become conscious of their rights, privileges and immunities.

The Varṇāśrama Vyavasthā which purports to regulate the common and individual life of Vedic Hindus is a duty-biased socio-legal system wherein the province of activity (in response to the performance of duty arising out of the distinct and elaborate assignment of functions severally to specific social units) of each of such units–which consist of hereditary castes– is strictly delineated for each such unit. We have here the whole range of these duties classified as *Deśa dharma, Jāti dharama, Kula dharma, Varṇa dharma, Āśrama dharma, Guṇa dharma, Nimitta dharma,* etc. The province of common activity for all is strictly delimited within the narrow limits of *Sādhāraṇadharma*. Thus most of the approved activity of the interdependent common life of Vedic Hindus is covered by the *Viśeśa dharmas* classified into the above specified divisions. If the language appropriate to a right biased sociolegal system were to be used to describe the position of the different units which constitute the Vedic Hindu society each of such units–including even the units grouped under the general category of Śūdras–can be justifiably described as endowed with special privileges. This is so because no other unit, besides the one obliged to do the act (by the Śāstras), would be permitted to do it. But this description is palpably inappropriate and misleading for being used in the context of a society governed by a duty-biased socio-legal system, as the area of free activity of each of its members is brought down within the narrowest limits and the areas of social duty are extended. Indologists being required to have recourse to *English* language for the exposition of their themes have not shown adequate care or perspicacity in distinguishing between different words and sets of expression and using only such words and sets of expression as would be appropriate to describe the situation in a duty-biased socio-legal system. They have generally failed to recognise that the English language, being developed in the context of the right-biased system of the common law, is not ordinarily suitable to describe accurately situations and conditions properly belonging to the interdependent common life developed on the basis of the duty biased socio-legal system *Varṇāśrama Vyavasthā* of Vedic Hindus.

Dr. Om Prakash has pointed out in his rejonders (p. 33) that at any rate, the right of revolt is possessed by every individual when he is required to face an extra-ordinary situation not covered by any of the provisions of Rāja Dharma. He observess;.... man has been fighting for preservation since the day he made his appearance on the planet. Similarly.......a man has been rising in revolt whenever his collective existence was endangered as the result of tyrany and oppression". He observes a little ahead that the situation he has in his mind is the one where "all codes stood abolished the

moment the tyranny began. The only check, was the collective might of the disorganised people which can effectively express itself when the limit is reached." Here, in this sort of situation, it is pertinent to raise the question : can there exist any rule of *Dharma* or law by recourse to which individuals or collectivities are required or expected to regulate their conduct ? Would the stamp of 'sin' or 'crime' ; or of 'meritorious act' or 'rightful conduct' be applicable to any course of conduct when all codes of conduct, that is such as those laid down by *Dharma* or morality, or law, become non-existent ? And who is to apply the stamp and declare any kind of act, as 'good' or 'bad'; 'legal' or 'illegal' 'meritorious' or 'sinful' in such a situation? It is plain that if any vastige of Dharma is yet to be found clinging to the innermost layers of men's conscience in such a situation–a situation of अराजक *anarchy,* and not of complete chaos–then the rules provided in the Śāstras as appropriate for "*Āpatkāla*" whould become applicable. And it is well-known that the areas of permissible action for the Vaiśya and the Śūdra groups, such a situation are also strictly defined and limited. Members of these groups, when they find themselves oppressed by the tyrany of their king, shall, (as the harmonious construction of all the *directives* addressed to these groups by the Śāstras will require us to hold) have to seek, in the first instance, the guidance of the Brāhmaṇas or the leadership of other Kṣatriyas and then join in a common revolt directed against the tyrant king. It is only when the degree of oppression has become so excessive that there is no time, or room, or opportunity for seeking guidance or leadership as stated above, that is to say when there is a *real and proximate"* danger to life, property or chastity of a lady then alone any *individual* or collection may justifiably commit tyrannicide. As it has been laid down :–

गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।
आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥

and an Ātatāyin has been defined as :–

अग्निदो गरदश्चैव शस्त्रपाणिर्धनापहः ।
क्षेत्रदारहरश्चैव षडेते आततायिनः ॥

Thus when a tyrannous king falls into the category of an Ātatāyin that is when there is imminent and real danger to life, property or chastity of women, then alone his killing instantaneously by the person so *threatened* would be a *justifiable* act. It is not a right of revolt or tyrannicide supposed to be granted to the *generality* of the *peoples.*

Dr. Om Prakash has, at more than one place in his Rejoinder, described this activity (retaliating wanton and *ferocious* attacks) of human beings as originating from natural reaction (see p. 33) due to his instinct of self-preservation; therefore he says that it is fully "justifiable". The above analysis shows that I am in complete agreement with this view. When a situation of total annihilarion of the *Varṇa Vyavasthā* has taken place, and the distinction between man and man, as a Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra has become entirely obliterated, where no room is left for either the recognition or application of law such acts as are possible for ones preservation, do take place spontaneously and a lawgiver (when ever he gets any opportunity) will declare them as simply justified. It is, however, rather difficult to maintain that they are the outcome of a consciousness generated because of the grant of a right granted by the *Śāstra* in this connection, to the Common (i. e. a non-*Brāhmaṇa*) subject of the king. It should also be noted that all the legendry accounts of deposition of kings or tyranicide inform us that in every such case the *Brāhmaṇas* had taken the lead in doing away with the tyrant king. This shows clearly that the Purāṇas (or the epics) are not dealing with a situation where the total annihilation of *Varṇa Vyavasthā* resulting in the complete obliteration of the distinctions of hereditary caste groups had taken place in consequence of the tyrannous oppression of the king. To aver, that the deposition of the tyrant monarch was caused by the common people, under the leadership of the *Brāhmaṇas* when an extraordinary situation rendering *Brāhmaṇas* and the commoners alike; where the equality of status of all the subjects had taken place because of the work of the oppressive policies of the tyrant which abolished the distinction between the privileged and the unprivileged, would amount to a plain contradiction.

In the end I am thankful to both. Dr. Om Prakash and the Editor of the Purāṇa Bulletin for having afforded me an opportunity to give expression to my understanding of the position of the *Śāstras–Dharma Śāstra* and *Rājanīti*–on this rarely arising, but complicated, issue : the responsibility and duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the non-*Brāhmaṇa* subjects of a king when they are confronted by his highly oppressive and tyrannouus rule.

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GLEANINGS FROM THE ŚIVAPURĀṆA*

BY

R.N. DANDEKAR

[शिवपुराणस्यांशविशेषाधारेण लेखोऽयं विरच्यते । शिवस्य भगवतः स्वरूपं पूजा चात्र प्रतिपाद्येते ।

प्राचीनभारतस्य द्वे परम्परे प्रख्याते । प्रथमा–ऋषि-ऋत्विक् परम्परा, मन्त्र-परम्पराऽपरनामधेया; द्वितीया सूतपरम्परा इतिहासपुराणपरम्पराऽपरनामधेया ।

कालक्रमेण मन्त्रपरम्परा नियताकारग्रन्थरूपेण विपरिणता जाता । सूतपरम्परा तु लौकिकेतिवृत्तबहुला नियतरूपविहीना । एतद्गता आख्यानादयो मन्त्रपरम्परायामपि समागताः । वैदिकवाङ्मयोक्त इतिहास-पुराणशब्द इमां सूतपरम्परां व्यनक्ति–इति प्रतीयते । पुरा एकमेव पुराणमासीदिति मतं खलु पुराणस्य प्राचीनतां गमयति ।

पुराणेति शब्दो बहुधा निरुक्तः । यद्यपि इतिहास-पुराणशब्दाभ्यामेकैव परम्परा प्रोच्यते तथापि अनयोर्विषयभेदोऽस्ति । मनुष्यतच्चरितसंबद्ध इतिहासः; सृष्टिप्रलय-व्यापकं पुनः पुराणम् । मन्त्रपरम्परा ऋषिभिर्ऋत्विग्भिश्च सुरक्षिता ; इतिहासपुराण-परम्परा तु सूतैः । इतिहास-पुराणानां प्रवचनं सूतानां कर्मासीत् । इमे सूता वर्णसंकरजात् सूताद् भिन्ना इति वेदितव्यम् ।

इतिहास-पुराणेषूक्तम्–वेदविभागकृद् व्यासः स्वशिष्यं लोमहर्षणम् इतिहासपुराणं पाठयामासेति । लोमहर्षणश्च तत् षोढा विभज्य षट् शिष्यान् पाठयामास । एवं पुराणसंबद्धा काश्चन संहिताः प्रणीताः । प्रचलिताः पुराणग्रन्था अर्वाचीने काले विरचिता इत्यभ्युपेयम् ।

सर्गादीनि पुराणलक्षणानि प्रसिद्धानि । नैकमपि प्रचलितं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणमात्रपरम् । केषुचिच्च पुराणेषु इमानि लक्षणानि नैव सन्ति । पुराणं वेदोपबृंहकमेवेति मतमपि क्लिष्टकल्पना; नेदं समूलं प्रतीयते । अर्वाक्काले मतमिदमाख्यातमिति विज्ञायते ।

पुराणानि बहुप्रकारैर्विभक्तानि–सात्त्विकराजसतामसभेदेन, शैववैष्णवादिभेदेन, प्रधान-प्रतिपाद्यविषयभेदेन च । केनापि नियमेन पुराणानां विभजनं न सुष्ठु कर्तुं शक्यते ।

बहुषु पुराणेषु शिवपुराणं चतुर्थ-पुराणत्वेन गण्यते; केषुचिच्च वायुपुराणम् । एकस्यैव पुराणस्य द्वे नामनी–इति केचन कथयन्ति । शिवोक्तं मूलभूतं शिवपुराणं लक्षश्लोकमितम्; २४००० श्लोकाः पृथिव्याम् आनीता वायुना, अतः शिवपुराणमिदं वायुनाम्नाऽपि अभिधीयते-इति पौराणिकं मतम् । मतान्तरम् अप्यस्ति ।

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* *Purāṇa*, Vol, XXVIII, No 1 (January 1986) pp.7-31.

शिवपुराणं वायुपुराणं च पृथगुपलभ्येते, ते च भिद्येते परस्परम् । शिवपुराणस्य वायवीयेति संज्ञा भवितुमर्हति वायुप्रोक्तत्वात् । प्रचलितं वायुपुराणं प्राचीनतरं प्रामाणिकतरं च प्रतिभाति । प्रायेणेदं सांप्रदायिकदृष्टिविरहितम्; पञ्चलक्षणवत्तापि अत्र सुष्ठु विद्यते । शंकराचार्य-बाणाभ्यामिदमेव पुराणं लक्षितमिति कथनं युक्तमेव । एतत्तुलनया प्रचलितं शिवपुराणम् अर्वाक्कालिकं सांप्रदायिकदृष्टिप्रधानं च । पुराणसूचीषु वायुपुराणस्थले शिवपुराणस्य उल्लेखोऽर्वाक्कालिकः ।

शिवपुराणस्य वायवीयसंहितायां शिवपुराणस्वरूपविषये यदुक्तं तन्न प्रचलिते शिवपुराणे संघटते । शिवपुराणीय-कैलाससंहितायां द्वे शिवसूत्रे उदाहृते, शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिकमपि निर्दिष्टम् । ८५० ख्रीष्टाब्दजातेन भास्करेण कृतमिदं वार्त्तिकम् । अतः शिवपुराणमिदम् एतत्कालानन्तरमेव प्रणीतमिति । अलवीरुणिना (१०३० खी.) शिवपुराणं नामतो निर्दिष्टमत एतत्पुराणरचनायाः कालः खीष्टीया दशमो शताब्दीत्यनुमीयते । केदारमाहात्म्यादयः केचन ग्रन्थाः शिवपुराणान् निर्गता इति कथ्यते ।

शिवमहिम-प्रतिपादनं शिवपुराणस्य मुख्यो विषयः । स भगवान् निष्कलोऽपि सकलः । निष्कलः शिवो लिङ्गरूपी । जीवरूपाश्चान्ये देवाः । निर्गुणोऽपि शिवः सगुणः, सर्वविद्याश्रयः । तत्त्वमसीति-वाक्यगतः तत्पदार्थः स एव; स एव आत्मा ब्रह्म च । सर्वं शिवात्मकम्; विष्णुः शिवेच्छावशगः । शिवशब्दो बहुधा निरुक्तोऽस्मिन् पुराणे । एषु निर्वचनेषु शिवस्य महिमैव प्रपञ्चितः । शिवे प्रकृतिपुरुषयोः बिन्दुनादयोश्च मेलनं । स एव भोगदाता; भगस्य प्रभुत्वात् स भर्ग इत्युच्यते ।

शिवशास्त्रे पञ्चेति संख्याया महत्त्व दृश्यते । शिवस्य पञ्च कृत्यानि प्रसिद्धानि; एतानि पञ्चभिर्मुखैर्निष्पाद्यन्ते । पञ्चधा खलु शिवपूजा जप-होम-दान-तपः समाराधन-भेदात् । अस्ति च पञ्चाक्षरो मन्त्रः (नमः शिवाय); सन्ति च शिवस्य पञ्च रूपाणि साम्बादीनि । शिवस्याष्टानां मूर्तीनां विवरणमपि अत्रोपलभ्यते; विवरणमिदं शतपथ-ब्राह्मणमूलकम् ।

शिवकृता सृष्टिर्द्विविधा—मानसी मैथुनी च । जितकामः शिवः हेतुविशेषेण कामजितो भवति; स वशीकृतभोगः; योगे भोगे च तस्य समानोऽधिकारः । स यथा यतिः, तथा पतिरपि ।

वेदेन सह शिवस्य नेदिष्ठः संबन्धः पुराणेऽस्मिन् प्रतिपाद्यते । शिवनिःश्वासजातो वेद इति । श्रुत्या 'ओं नमः शिवाये' ति मन्त्रो विहितः । शिवो यज्ञरूपी वेदमर्यादापालकः, ओङ्कारपदवाच्यश्च । यज्ञबाह्यः शिव इत्युक्तिस्तु शिवस्य प्राथमिकावैदिकरूपत्वं प्रति-पादयति ।

भक्तान् प्रति शिवोऽतितरां दयालुरिति पुराणेऽस्मिन् प्रतिपादितं बहुधा । समाजानुमतव्यवहारे शिवस्यारुचिरपि प्रदर्शिता । शिवं प्रति दक्षस्य विद्वेष एतन्मूलकः । शिवकृतेषु भिक्षाचरणादि-कर्मसु पार्वत्यपि न बद्धादरा । शिवस्य यद् ध्वंसकारित्वं तदेव तस्य श्मशानवासित्वादिधर्माणां हेतुरिति विज्ञायते ।

न खलु देवत्रये शिवोऽन्तर्भूतः; स च सर्वदेवाधीशः । ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राः शिवस्यैव रूपाणि; एष्वपि रुद्रेण सह शिवस्य नेदिष्ठः संबन्धः । निर्गुणावस्थायां शिव एव परमात्मा; स खलु निष्कलस्त्रिगुणातीतश्च; स एव सृष्ट्यादिकर्ता गुणत्रयसंबन्धतः । यथा शिवस्य त्रीणि रूपाणि तथा तस्य शक्तेरपि--वाग्देवी-लक्ष्मी-कालीतित्रीणि रूपाणि रजः-सत्त्व-तमः-संबद्धानि । ब्रह्मादीनां शिवापेक्षयापकर्षो दर्शितः । प्रसङ्गतश्च शिवस्य पञ्च विशिष्टा मन्त्रा (मृत्युञ्जयादिनामानः) उक्ताः ।

विष्णु-वैष्णवादिविषये शिवपुराणस्य उदारा दृष्टिरवलोक्यते, यद्यपि क्वचिद् ऊर्ध्व-पुण्ड्रादिधारणादीनाम् अप्रशस्तताऽपि कीर्तिता । निन्दिताश्च विष्णुशिवभेदद्रष्टारः, विष्णुद्वेषिणो रुद्रभक्ताश्च गर्हिताः । विष्ण्वादीनामुपासका अपि रुद्राक्षधारणेऽधिकारिण इत्युक्तम् ।

पूर्णयोगफलसिद्धिर्यया जायते सा पूजेत्युक्तम् । पञ्चविधेयं पूजा मन्त्र-जप-होम-दान-समाराधनभेदात् । पूजादयश्च स्थण्डिलप्रतिमादिषु करणीयाः । षोडशोपचारयुता पूजा विहिता । अन्ये देवा मूर्तिरूपैः पूज्यन्ते शिवश्च लिङ्गरूपेण। लिङ्गपूजेयं मुख्या । मूर्ति-लिङ्गाश्रिता पूजा प्रथमाधिकारिणाम्; सा च निर्गुणशिवाधिगमहेतुरूपा । शिव-पूजापरका मन्त्रा वाजसनेयिसंहितातः संकलिताः । शिवपूजाविधिर्मन्त्रजपविधिश्च विस्तरे-णोपवर्णितौ; रुद्राक्षस्वरूप-तद्धारणविधिविषये बिल्ववृक्ष-भस्मलेपन-त्रिपुण्ड्रधारणादिविषये मूर्ति-नैवेद्य-पुष्पादिविषये च बहूक्तमस्मिन् पुराणे ।]

I Introduction

It may be noted, at the very outset, that this paper* covers only the first few chapters in the *Śivapurāṇa (ŚP)*, namely the chapters of the *Vidyeśvarasaṁhitā* and of the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, the *Satīkhaṇḍa*, and the *Pārvatīkhaṇḍa* of the *Rudrasaṁhitā*, and deals with some aspects of only two topics, namely, the personality and character of Śiva and the worship of Śiva. None the less, it is hoped that it will throw some light on the style and contents of a sectarian specimen of this genre of ancient Indian literature.

The beginnings of ancient Indian literature are characterised by two distinct traditions which may be designated as the *Ṛṣi-Ṛtvik* or *mantra*-tradition and the *sūta*-or *itihāsa-purāṇa*-tradition. Initially, both these traditions were oral, scattered, and fluid. However, the *mantra*-tradition, which, by and large, related to the religious thought and practice of the people, soon came to be consolidated, and was given a fixed literary form.

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As against this, the *sūta*-tradition, which mainly comprised secular[1], bardic, legendary, and historical material, continued to remain fluid and floating for a pretty long time, though, it may be noted, some elements of that tradition had already been incorporated into the *mantra*-tradition in the form of *ākhyānas, gāthās, nārāśaṁsīs*, etc. The *itihāsa-purāṇa*, which is mentioned in some Vedic texts, presumably refers to this *sūta*-tradition rather than to any specific literary texts. The statement that, in the beginning, there was only one Purāṇa s significant in this connection.[2]

The term *purāṇa* is variousl interpreted : *purāṇa* is that which has been living since or enlivens ancient times[3], or that which desires or manifests the anicient tradition[4]. or that which narrates what happened in ancient times[5], or that which is anicent as well as new[6], or that which supplements the Veda.[7] Though. in the early literature, *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* are often clubbed together to denote a single literary tradition, we may broadly distinguish the two by pointing out that *itihāsa* deals with persons and their doings while *purāṇa* deals with cosmic matters. If the credit for preserving and consolidating the *mantra*-tradition belongs to the Vedic Ṛṣis and Ṛtviks, the credit for preserving and consolidating the *itihāsa-purāṇa*-tradition belongs to the Sūtas. These Sūtas constituted a distinct class of people whose business it was to transmit orally the tradition of the *itihāsa-purāṇa;* they are to be differenctiated from the later mixed caste born of a Kṣatriya father and a Brāhmaṇa mother.[8] According to

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1. Cf. *purāṇaṁ mānavo dharmaḥ sāṅgopāṅgaḥ cikitsakaḥ* (*MBh* 13).
2. *purāṇam ekam evāsīt purā kalpāntare nṛpa* (*Matsya-P.* 53.4). There is also the tradition that the Purāṇa is older than the Veda.
3. *yasmāt purā hyanatīdaṁ purāṇaṁ tena tat smṛtam* (*Vāyu-P.* 1.203).
4. *purā paramparāṁ vaṣṭi (vyakti?) purāṇaṁ tena tat smṛtam* (*Padma-P.* 5.2.53).
5. *yosmāt pura hy abhūccaitat purāṇaṁ tena tat smṛtam* (*Brahmāṇḍa* 1.1.173); *purā atītānarthān aṇati kathayati.*
6. *purāpi navaṁ bhavati* (*Nir.* 3.19).
7. *pūraṇāt purāṇam* (Jiva Gosvāmin).
8. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśastra* (3.7.29.31) clearly states : *kṣatriyād (brāhmaṇyāṁ) sūtaḥ/paurāṇikas tu anyaḥ sūtaḥ*. It is. however, pointed out that the word Sauti suggests that sūta was originally the name of a person and not of a class. The word *Sūta* is explained thus :
vainyasya tu pṛthor yajñe vartmāne mahātmanaḥ/
sutyāyām abhavat sūtaḥ prathamaṁ varṇavaikṛtam //
The mixed caste came to be called Sūta presumably because the persons belonging to that caste largely adopted the profession of Purāṇa-narrators. (Some of them also adopted the profession of charioteers or medical attendants). The two ideas, namely of the Sūta having born from out of the sacrifices and of the Sūta as a mixed caste, are sometimes combined: it being suggested that the Sūta was born when the offering to Bṛhaspati (Brāhmaṇa) was superseded by the one to Indra (Kṣatriya).

the account of the transmission of the *itihāsa-purāṇa* generally found in the Purāṇas themselves, Vyāsa, who was responsible for dividing the single Veda into four Vedas and entrusting these latter to his four disciples, namely, Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini, and Sumantu, taught the *itihāsa-purāṇa* to his fifth disciple, Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa. Lomaharṣaṇa, in his turn, made six versions of that *itihāsa-purāṇa* and passed them on respectively to his six disciples, Ātreya Sumati, Kāśyapa Akṛtavraṇa, Bhāradvāja Agnivarcas, Vāsiṣṭha Mitrayu, Sāvarṇi Somadatti, and Sudarśana Śāṁśapāyana. Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi, and Śāṁśapāyana produced their own Purāṇa-*saṁhitās;* which, together with Lomaharṣaṇa's *saṁhitā*, form the *mūla saṁhitās* of Purāṇa. Of course, the Purāṇa-texs as we know them today belong to quite a late date.

The generally accepted definition mentions five characteristics *(lakṣaṇas)* of a Purāṇa, namely, *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and re-creation), *vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manu), and *vaṁśyānucarita* (genealogies of kings), but it will be seen that none of the Purāṇas entirely conforms to this *pañca-lakṣaṇa* definition and that, in the case of some Purāṇas, it is utterly inapplicable.[9] Similarly, the claim that the Purāṇas represent the *upabṛṁhaṇa* (supplementation) of the Veda[10] is found to be tenuous, purposive and unwarranted, and is obviously an afterthought. Various attempts have been made to classify the Purāṇas–for instance, the Purāṇas are classified in accordance with the dominant *guṇa* (as *sāttvika, rājasa,* and *tāmasa),* or in accordance with the dominant deity (as *śaiva, vaiṣṇava, brāhma,* and *daiveya* : southern tradition speaks of the five deities, Brahmā, Sūrya Agni, Śiva and Viṣṇu), or in accordance with their dates or contents (as older and later, or as encyclopaedic, sectarian, historical, etc.); but, actually, the nature of the Purāṇas is such that they defy any hard and fast classification.

Coming to the *ŚP*, one first of all encounters the question whether that Purāṇa is a Mahāpurāṇa or not. Nine Purāṇas, namely, the *Viṣṇu*, the

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9. This definition suffers in some cases from *ativyāpti* and in some cases from *avyāpti*. In view of the fact that the contents of some Purāṇas extend far beyond what is implied by the *pañcalakṣaṇa* definition, *daśalakṣaṇa* definition is proposed–the five additional topics being *vṛtti* (means of livelihood), *rakṣā* (incarnations of gods), *mukti* (final emancipation), *hetu* (jīva), and *apāśraya* (brahman).

10. Cf. *itihāsapurāṇābhyāṁ vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet/*
bibhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ prahariṣyati //

Padma, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the *Brahmavaivarta*, the *Kūrma*, the *Vārāha*, the *Liṅga*, and the *Skanda*, assign to the *ŚP* the fourth place in the traditional list of the *Mahāpurāṇas*, while the *Matsya*, the *Nāradīya*, and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* mention the *Vāyupurāṇa* (VP) instead of the *ŚP* at the fourth place in the list. It is suggested that one and the same Purāṇa is called the *ŚP* as well as the *VP*. Originally the *ŚP* was produced by Śiva himself and contained 100,000 *ślokas*. Out of these 100,000 *ślokas*, 76,000 *ślokas* were retained in the Śivaloka, while 24,000 *ślokas* were brought down to the earth by Vāyu. Hence the two names.[11] It is further suggested that one and the same Purāṇa was called *ŚP* in one Dvāpara and *VP* in another Dvāpara. However, separate printed texts of the *ŚP* and the *VP* are available, and even a cursory examination of the two renders the assumption of their identity wholly untenable.[12] Of course the possibility of the name *Vāyupurāṇa* having been given to the *ŚP* because it was transmitted by Vāyu as also to another Purāṇa the text of which is separately available cannot be altogether ruled out. The independent *VP*, the printed text of which is available, clearly gives the impression of being an older and a more genuine Purāṇa. It is comparatively free from sectarian tendencies and is in its contents more consistent with the *pañcalakṣaṇa* definition. Presumably it is this Purāṇa which is referred to by Śaṅkarācārya and Bāṇa. The authors of the classical treatises (*nibandhas*) on Dharmasāstra also seem to attach particular credence to the *VP*. As against this, the *ŚP*, as we have it, is obviously late, highly diffuse and blatantly sectarian. It would seem that, in course of time, on account of its sectarianism itself, the *ŚP* dislodged the *VP* from among the Mahā-purāṇas where it had originally belonged.[13]

The *Vāyavīya-Saṁhitā* of the *ŚP* speaks of that Purāṇa as having consisted of 12 *Saṁhitās* and 100,000 *ślokas*. This description of the *ŚP* is evidently conventional and patently exaggerated; at any rate, such a version of *ŚP* now not available. The present *ŚP* has only 18,000 ślokas and is divided into seven *Saṁhitās*, namely, the *Vidyeśvara*, the *Rudra*

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11. Cf. *yathā Śivas tathā Śaivapurāṇaṁ Vāyunoditam/ Śivabhaktisamāyogān nāmadvayavibhūṣitam // (Revāmāhātmya)*
12. Even the suggestion that the *VP* may have been identical with the *Vāyavīya-saṁhitā* of the *ŚP* is unconvincing.
13. To regard both the *ŚP* and *VP* as Mahāpurāṇas thereby increasing the traditional number of the Mahāpurāṇas is like cutting the Gordian Knot.

(having five *khaṇḍas*–the *Sṛṣṭī*, the *Satī*, the *Pārvatī*, the *Kumāra*, and the *Yuddha*), the *Śatarudra*, the *Koṭirudra*, the *Umā*, the *Kailāsa*, and the *Vāyavīya* (having two *khaṇḍas*–the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara*).

In the Kailāsa-Saṁhitā(16,44-49), the *ŚP* quotes two *Śivasūtras* namely, *caitanyam ātmā* and *Jñānaṁ bandhah*, and also mentions the Vārttika relating to them. The *Śivasutras* are regarded as the basic text of the Pratyabhijñā system of Kashmir Śaivism and are believed to have been brought to the notice of Vasugupta (800 A. D.) by Śiva himself in a dream.[14] Kṣemarāja, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, wrote the Śivasūtravṛtti on which is based the Vārttika by Bhāskara (850 A. D.) mentioned in the *ŚP*. We thus get 850 A.D. as the *terminus a quo* of the date of *ŚP*. The *terminus ad quem* is supplied by Alberuni (1030 A.D.) who mentions the *ŚP* . So the date of the *ŚP* may be fixed at about the 10th century A. D. Many minor texts claim to have been derived from the *ŚP* , from among which may be mentioned the *Ānandakānana*, the *Kāśīmāhātmya*, the *Kedāramāhātmya*, and the *Rudrakavaca*.

II. Śiva : personality and character

Understandably, the glorification of Śiva is the central theme of the *ŚP* . Śiva alone is said to be of the nature of the supreme Brahman. Therefore, essentially he is without parts (*niṣkala*). However, in very rare cases, *Śiva* is thought of as assuming an embodied form and so is regarded as being endowed with parts (*sakala*). This would explain why the idols of Śiva are rare. In his *niṣkala* aspect, Śiva is represented in the form of *liṅga*, Other gods not being identical with the Brahman have no *niṣkala* apect and are consequently not worshipped in the form of liṅga They are of the nature of individual souls (*Jīvas*). This is the purport of what Nandikeśvara taught Sanatkumāra as the essence of Vedānta, on the mountain Mandara.[15] Śiva is in fact also devoid of attributes (*nirguṇa*) but for some reasons he becomes *saguṇa*.He is the support of all lores. Of what avail, then, asks the purāṇa, is learning to him who is perfect and identical with the sureme soul.[16] Elsewhere Śiva is characterised as tadvastubhūta, that is, as being identical with the entity denoted by the

14. The 77 sūtras in 3 Unmeṣas. are said to have been found inscribed on a rock on the Mahādevagiriśikhara. This rock is today known as Śaṁkaropala.

15. *ŚP* 1.5.10 ff.

16. *ŚP* 2.3.28.6-7

word tat in the upaniṣadic *mahā vākya, tat tvam asi.*[17] Śiva himself declares to Viṣṇu and Brahmā that he is both the Brahman and the Ātman.[18] Indeed, all this is śivātmaka–it has Śiva as its only essential reality.[19] Viṣṇu recognises Śiva's supremacy[20] and always acts according to his wishes– he is *Śivecchākāryakartā*[21] Brahmā says that the entire world is dependent on Śiva's will.[22]

In accordance with its peculiar style, the *ŚP* brings out the various features of the character and personality of Śiva through the various etymologies which it gives of the word *Śiva*. For instance, resorting to metathesis, the Purāṇa says that Śiva is actually *vaśī* because he has brought everything under his control.[23] The Purāṇa further says that, just as a lion is called siṁha because he kills (*hiṁs*) other animals but other animals cannot kill him, so too Śiva is called Śiva because he controls (*vaśī*) everything but nothing can control him.[24] Through another etymology, Śiva is said to represent simultaneously *ś* or eternal bliss, *i* or eternal puruṣa, and *va* or eternal Prakṛti.[25].

The union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti in Śiva is often represented also through the union in him of *liṅga* and *yoni*. It is on account of this latter union that Śiva is said to exemplify birth. Hence, by curious extension, *janmapūjā* which is said to belong to Śiva alone[26] is recommended for warding off births. Śiva further represents the union of *bindu* and *nāda*, the two elements of *oṁkāra*, which together make up the entire world consisting of the movable and the immovable. *Nāda* is said to be Śiva

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17. *ŚP* 2.3.25.5
18. *bṛhattvād bṛṁhaṇatvāc ca brahmāhaṁ brahmakeśavau /*
samatvāt vyāpakatvā c ca tathaivātmāhamarbhakau //
(Śp 1.9.37). The etymological exercise in respect of the words *brahman* and *ātman* may be noted.
19. *tasmān maheśvaraś caiva prakṛtiḥ puruṣas tathā /*
sadāśivo bhavo viṣṇur brahmā sarvaṁ śivātmakam //
(*ŚP* : Vāyavīya-Saṁ).
20. *śāṁkarī prabhutā* (*ŚP* 2.1.3.30).
21. *ŚP* 2.1.3.24.
22. *Śp* 2.1.2.40 : *śivecchā yādṛśī loke bhavaty eva hi sā tadā / tadadhīnaṁ jagat sarvam.*
23. *ŚP* 1.18.11.
24. *ŚP* 1.18.74-76.
25. *ŚP* 1.18.76-77.
26. *ŚP* 1.16.75.

and *bindu* his *śakti.*[27] Of similar import is the association of *bhaga* and *bhagavān* in the context of Śiva. *Bhaga* is etymologically explained as that which attains to (*ga : gacchati*) a state of growth (*bha*)–that is to say, *bhaga* is Prakṛti; and Śiva is *bhagavān* since he is the master of *bhaga* or Prakṛti.[28] But *bhaga* has also another meaning, namely, female organ or *yoni.* This meaning is obviously more natural than the one derived from the previous strained etymology. This *bhaga* or vagina is united with *bhagavān* Śiva in the form of *liṅga.* The word *bhoga* is etymologically explained as that which is produced by *bhaga* or Prakṛti. That is to say, *bhoga* denotes various objects of enjoyment produced by Prakṛti. It is then pointed out that Śiva as *bhagavān* is alone the provider of *bhoga*–he alone is real *bhogadātā.* Through another etymological exercise it is suggested that Śiva as master of *bhaga* is also known as Bharga.[29]

The number 5 seems to possess some mystic significance in the theology relating to Śiva. For instance, in one context Śiva explains to Viṣṇu and Brahmā the secret of the fivefold activities in respect of the world. The eternal cycle of the fivefold activities consists of *sṛṣṭi* (creation, *sthiti* (maintenance), *saṁhāra* (annihilation), *tirobhāva* (concealment), and *anugraha* (blessing). These five are actually the activities of Śiva, but they are seen as being carried out by others silently as in the case of the statue at the portal. It is said–though one fails to understand its relevance–that the *sarga* is seen in the *pṛthvī. sthiti* in the waters, *saṁhāra* in the fire, *tirobhāva* in the wind. and *anugraha* in the firmament. In order to be able to look after these five activities efficiently, Śiva has five heads–four in the four quarters and the fifth in the middle. It is further pointed out that the first two duties are assigned to Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively and the next two to Rudra and Maheśa respectively, but that the fifth, namely, *anugraha,* remains the prerogative of Śiva himself.[30] Further, the worship of Śiva (as also of the other gods) is said to be fivefold, consisting as it does of *japa* (repetition of *mantra),* *homa* (sacrifice), *dāna* (charity), *tapas* (penance), and *samārādhana* (propitiation) on the altar or idol or fire or a Brāhmaṇ–of these each later

27. *ŚP* 1.16.86-87.
28. *ŚP* 1.16.101 : *bhaṁ vṛdhiṁ gacchatītyarthāt bhagaḥ prakṛtir ucyate.*
29. *ŚP* 1.16.101 ff.
30. *ŚP* 1.10.1 ff.

one being superior to each former one.[31] The five-syllabled *mantra–namaḥ śivāya*–is dear to Śiva, and the *praṇava* which is often identified with Śiva is made up of five phonetic elements. Five eminent devotees of Śiva, together with their wives, are to be invited for worship; they are to be assigned respectively the five forms of Śiva, namely, Sāmba, Iśāna, Aghora, Vāma and Sadyojāta.[32]

In the *ŚP*, one also comes across references to the eight forms of Śiva.[33] The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (6.1.3.9-17) narrates the following legend; A son was born to Saṁvatsara and his consort Uṣas. Soon he began to cry because he had no name. When Prajāpati came to know of this, he gave that boy the following eight names in succession, namely, Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva, and Iśāna. This legend is the origin of the Purāṇa-concept of *aṣṭamūrti* Śiva. The *ŚP*, in its list of the eight *mūrtis,* substitutes Bhima for Aśani. That Purāṇa also speaks of the eight cosmic (*trijaganmayī*) bodies of Śiva, namely, the earth, the waters, the fire, the wind, the ether, the sun, the moon, and the sacrifer, which are related to the eight *mūrtis,* namely, Rudra, etc.[34] Three eyes constitute another characteristic feature of Śiva's personality, and, as has been aptly suggested, one eye is closed in Yogic meditation, the second passionately lusts while looking at Pārvatī's beauty, and the third blazes with the fire of anger against Kāma.

Creation *(sṛṣṭi)* is said to be of two kinds–*mānasī* and *maithunī*. The *ŚP* represents Śiva as the primeval sexual creator.[35] The 'mental' progeny of Brahmā failed to increase[36]; therefore, Śiva entered into a regular marriage with Pārvatī for 'sexual' progeny.[37] It is from this point

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31. *ŚP* 1.14.23-25.
32. *ŚP* 1.17.43-44. In some contexts, these five are said to be the five faces of Śiva. Sometimes, Tatpuruṣa is substituted for Śāmba.
33. Cf. *ŚP* 1.19.8.
34. *ŚP* 1.21.45-48. It may be noted that the cosmic bodies mentioned here are the same as those mentioned by Kālidāsa in the *nāndī* of the *Śākuntala*. In some other contexts, *prāṇa* and *apāna,* as representing heat and cold, are mentioned in the place of the sun and the moon and *manas* takes the place of the sacrificer.
35. It is pointed out that the Gonds attribute the invention of creation by means of intercourse to Lingo who is the Gond counter-part of Śiva.
36. *ŚP-Vāyavīya* 12.2 ff.
37. But even then Śiva did not produce a son in the conventional sense. Cf. the legends regarding Vīraka, Skanda, and Gaṇapati.

of view that the conflict between Śiva and Kāma may be viewed as one of the essential themes of the *ŚP*.[38] Śiva is the epitome of chastity and is therefore averse to any entanglement with women. He is shown to be objecting to any contact with Pārvatī with the traditional misogynist argument.[39] It is asserted in the Purāṇa that even Kāma will not be able to seduce Śiva who is a perfect yogin.[40] At the same time Śiva is represented to have fainted with lust when tortured by Kāma. He is said to have been overcome with passion like a 'natural man'.[41] The *ŚP* seems to have attempted some kind of rationalization of yogin Śiva's sexuality. For instance, Śiva is said to have consented to marry Pārvatī only for the sake of the gods. He tells the gods that he will do what they ask him to do because he is convinced that his marriage with Pārvatī is necessary for the maintenance of the universe, but he will not enjoy doing it.[42] It may be said that Śiva's marriage to Pārvatī was intended for procreation and not for recreation. Elsewhere Śiva is said to have made love to Sati only as a part of his *līlā*.[43] It is argued that the ascendancy of Kāma over Śiva which is portrayed in some contexts, is itself the result of Śiva's *līlā*, for, if Śiva had not been a true yogin, there could have been no need for Kāma to exert himself so relentlessly to seduce him.[44] Of course, it is also slyly suggested that Śiva burnt Kāma, but he could not burn his own anger.

Subduing of lust is an important aspect of yoga and *tapas*. As has been rightly pointed out, Śiva as yogin does not wholly destroy the fire of lust but transmutes it into the fire of asceticism. Passion has to be controlled, not denied.[45] Indeed, Śiva considers himself to be a wise yogin because he is a *bhogin* with conquered senses.[46] He is the only god who remains in the states of yoga and *bhoga* simultaneously. Śiva, who is both an ideal *yati* and an ideal *pati*, represents the wholesome balance in the polarity of asceticism and eroticism. In a sense, he may also be said to

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38. Curiously enough, one also notices a kind of parallelism in the legends concerning Śiva and Kāma.
39. *ŚP* 2.3.28-33.
40. *ŚP* 2.2.8.17-18.
41. *ŚP* 2.2.17.18-19 : 2.2.18.5-7: 2.3.18.38.
42. *ŚP* 2.3.24.74-76; also 2.2.11.27.
43. *ŚP* 2.2.24.16; 2.2.18.4.
44. *ŚP* 2.3.47.26.
45. *ŚP* 2.3.18.38-45.
46. *ŚP* 2.2.10.25.

represent a compromise between the Brahmanic and the Tantric tendencies of the *ŚP*.

However, deliberate and tendentious efforts seem to have been made in the *ŚP* to established a kind of innate affinity between Śiva and the Veda. Such brahmanizing tendency is, for instance, quite evident in the claim made in that Purāṇa that the Veda was the 'breath' of Lord Śiva who passed it on as such to Viṣṇu.[47] The Veda, it is said, commends the worship of Śiva as the most efficacious.[48] Indeed, it is claimed that in the Veda and the *śāstra*, it is Śiva who is principally eulogised.[49] The Purāṇa further says that the six-syllabled Śiva-*mantra*–*oṁ namaḥ śivāya*–is strongly recommended by all Śrutis.[50] The Vedas and the Smṛtis, it is further said, point out that there can be no happiness in the world if Lord Śiva becomes wrathful.[51] Śiva himself is represented as proclaiming that he is the sacrifice–the very soul of sacrifice. Śiva's statement in this context that he is also *yajñabāhya* perhaps betrays his original non-Vedic characer.[52] At one place, Brahmā praises Śiva as the guardian of the Vedic conventions (*vedamaryādāpālaka*).[53] Persons well versed in the *Yajurveda* are said to be characterising him as double *oṁkāra*–*oṁ oṁ*.[54]

The *ŚP* always emphasizes Śiva's solicitude and utter softness for his devotees. In spite of his wrathful nature, Śiva is easily propitiated. It is said that he does not recognize any difference between himself and his devotee.[55] The true devotee himself becomes Śiva. The more an aspirant

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47. *ŚP* 2.1.9.5; 2.3.28.8 : *vedā ucchvāsarūpeṇa purā dattāś ca viṣṇave/śambhunā tena kalpādau tatsamaḥ ko' sti suprabhuḥ.*
48. *ŚP* 2.1.4.63.
49. *ŚP* 2.3.22.55 : *loke (v. l. śāstre) vede ca giriśo munibhir gīyate sadā/śaṁkaroh sa hi sarvajñaḥ sarvātmā sarvadarśanaḥ//* 2.1.13.52 : *vedaiḥ śastraiḥ yathāgītaṁ viṣṇubrahmanutaṁ sadā.*
50. *ŚP* 2.1.4.65.
51. *ŚP* 2.2.1.36.
52. *ŚP* 2.2.26.47 : *yajño 'haṁ yajñakarmā 'haṁ yajñāṅgāni ca sarvaśaḥ/ yajñātmā yajñanirato yajñabāhyo 'ham eva hi//* See : Dandekar, "Rudra in the Veda", *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, pp. 199-277.
53. *ŚP* 2.2.32.59.
54. *ŚP* 2.1.8.25. Just as Śiva is closely associated with the *YV*, Viṣṇu is associated with the *Ṛgveda* and Brahmā with the *Sāmaveda*.
55. *ŚP* 1.17.131.

repeats the Śiva-*mantra*, the greater is the presence of Śiva in his body.[56] Śiva told Indra and other gods, who were persuading him to marry Pārvatī, that marriage was not a proper thing for a man to do and that the association with a woman was the basest of all the bondages in the world. He, however, added that, since he was always subservient to his devotees, he would do anything for them–even if it was unbecoming. He further told them, quoting instances, that he had often undergone much suffering for his devotees. Whenever any dovotee of his found himself in an adversity, Śiva would remove it instantaneously and completely. So, fully realizing that demon Tāraka had engendered a great catastrophe for the gods, he would marry Pārvatī for begetting a son though otherwise he had but little interest in such dalliance.[57]

A reference has already been made to Śiva's natural human propensities. The ŚP also frequently alludes to his not conforming to normal social conventions and practices. Indeed, that is the main grouse of his parents-in-law against him[58]. Even Parvatī sometimes feels ashamed of Śiva's begging bowl.[59] However, in ease, the serpent, the elephant hide, the third eye, etc. associated with Śiva not only transcend their conventional and aesthetic repulsiness, but they actually exert a magical erotic power. She sees the erotic aspect of ascetic symbols.[60] She says that only creatures overcome with delusion take pleasure in ornaments. Śiva has neither the need nor the desire for such empty embellishments.[61] As a matter of fact, as Brahmā says in the context of the marriage of Satī and Śiva, the various unconventional accoutrements of Śiva become fitting ornaments at his will.[62] For Pārvatī, Śiva's own natural garb is more alluring and attractive than any external popular adornments.[63] It is often held out against Śiva that he frequents the funeral grounds and smears his body with the ashes of the burnt

56. *ŚP* 1.17.133-34.
57. *ŚP* 2.3.24.60-75.
58. *ŚP* 2.2.26.14-15. Menā, who typifies a conventional housewife, is particularly difficult to win over : *ŚP* 2.3.44.1, 102.
59. *ŚP* 2.3.25.51.
60. *ŚP* 2.3.8.13.
61. *ŚP* 2.3.25.66.
62. *ŚP* 2.2.18.23; 2.2.17.4-5.
63. *ŚP* 2.3.39. 36-42.

corpses.[64] But, as has been suggested, this feature of his character may be regarded as being indicative of Śiva's cosmic role, namely, that he destroys the universe by menas of fire at the end of each era and then purifies it by sprinkling it with ashes.

As for Śiva's relationship with the three gods of the Hindu trinity it has to be first of all noted that Śiva is not one of them but stands absolutely over and above them. The *ŚP* tells us that Śiva manifests himself in three ways–in the form of Viṣṇu born out of his left side, in the form of Brahmā born out of his right side, and in the form of Rudra born out of the heart.[65] It will be seen that Rudra is specifically differentiated from Śiva. In his *nirguṇa* pure aspect, Śiva is glorified as Śiva, the supreme Ātman, the great lord, the highest Brahman, the undecaying, endless Mahādeva. However, through his own *māyā*, he himself assumes the forms of Brahmā as the creator, of Viṣṇu as the sustainer, and of Maheśa or Rudra as the annihilator of the worlds.[66] But the *ŚP* betrays some equivocation in this connection. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśa, are born out of Śiva's body, but Maheśa, when perfect, is said to be identical with Śiva himself.[67] Elsewhere Śiva himself is said to be the annihilator of the worlds in his manifestation as Rudra.[68] Viṣṇu and Brahmā are born from Śiva's own Prakṛti, but not so Rudra,[69] Śiva says that truly he is *niṣkala* and *nirguṇa,* for ever, but for the activities of creation, etc., he manifests himself as Brahmā, etc. Then he further tells Viṣṇu that, since he and Brahmā have eulogised him and prayed to him for his *avatāra,* he will grant them their request. A form similar to Śiva's will appears in the world from Brahmā's body. That form will be called Rudra.[70] Indeed, Śiva here emphasizes that no difference should ever be made between him and Rudra. The relationship between them two, he adds, is like the one between gold and an ornament of gold.[71]

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64. *ŚP* 2.2.26.15.
65. *ŚP* 2.1.16.36.
66. *ŚP* 2.1.4.32-34.
67. *ŚP* 2.1.1.17.
68. *ŚP* 2.1.4.34.
69. *ŚP* 2.1.9.16,41.
70. *ŚP* 2.1.9. 28-30:
71. *ŚP* 2.1.9. 34-35.

According to the *ŚP*, Śiva himself is the author of the creation, the maintenance, and the dissolution of the universe on account of the attributes of *rajas*, etc. But actually he being identical with the supreme Brahman transcends the three *guṇas* and is beyond Prakṛti and Puruṣa. Viṣṇu has *tamas* within and *sattva* outside, and he looks after the sustenance of the univers; Hara or Rudra, who causes the dissolution of the three worlds, has *sattva* within and *tamas* outside; and Brahmā, the creator, has *rajas* both within and without. This is the position of the *guṇas* in the three gods. Śiva is untouched by any *guṇas*.[72] But here again we come across a perplexing reference–Śiva asks Viṣṇu and Brahmā to worship Rudra, the annihilator, because he is his (Śiva's) complete and perfect incarnation.[73]

In one passage, which may be regarded as being significant in this context, the *ŚP* mentions the life-spans of the three gods. A thousand sets of four-*yuga* periods constitute one day of Brahmā. Equal to this is also his night. Thirty such days and nights constitute one month and twelve such months constitute a year. The span of life of Brahmā is one hundred such years. One year of Brahmā is equal to one day of Viṣṇu; and Viṣṇu lives for one hundred years so calculated. One year of Viṇu constitutes one day of Rudra. When a period of one hundred years of Rudra passes, he assumes the form of Nara. He remains as such as long as Sadāśiva holds his breath. When Sadāśiva exhales, Rudra merges into Śakti.[74]

Corresponding to the three forms of Śiva there occur in the *ŚP* references also to the three forms of Śiva's Śakti. Śiva tells Brahmā and Viṣṇu that goddess Umā Parameśvarī is the Prakṛti. One aspect of hers, namely, the goddess of speech (Vāgdevi), is associated with Brahmā; another aspect, namely, Lakṣmī, resorts to Viṣṇu; and the third aspect, namely Kālī, becomes a part of Śiva himself. Kālī is said to have been born in the form of resplendence (*jyotis*) for effective work. The activities

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72. *ŚP* 2.1.9.58-61. In another context (2.1.16.38), the *ŚP* says that Viṣṇu is characterised by *sattva*, Brahmā by *rajas*, and Rudra by *tamas*; but this is only from the view of *lokācāra*. *Nāmataḥ* and *vastutaḥ*, the case is quite different. It may be noted that, according to the *Kūrma-Pur.* 2.37.70-71, Agni (*tamas*), Brahmā (*rajas*), and Viṣṇu (*sattva*) are the three forms of Rudra. Another form, full and attributeless, is Śiva himself.

73. *ŚP* 2.1.9.63.

74. *ŚP* 2.1.10.15-20.

of these three aspects of Umā are respectively the creation, the sustenance, and the dissolution of the universe.[75] The Purāṇa further says that the goddess of speech has *rajas* as her *guṇas,* Satī (or Kāli) is *sāttvika* in nature, and *Lakṣmī* is characterised by *tamoguṇa.* The great goddess Śivā, who corresponds to Śiva himself, transcends her three aspects, namely, Vāgdevī, Lakṣmī, and Kālī, but unlike Śiva she is said to have all the three *guṇas.* Śivā became Satī, and Śiva married her. At the sacrifice of her father Dakṣa, she cast off her body. Śivā later incarnated herself as Pārvatī, who, after having practised severe penance, again won Śiva as her husband. She came to be known by various names such as Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Bhadrā, Cāmuṇḍā, Vijayā, Jayā, Jayanti, Bhadrakālī, Durgā, Bhagavatī, Kāmākhyā, Kāmadā, Ambā, Mṛḍānī, and Sarvamaṅgalā, though, as the Purāṇa says, the name Pārvatī was most common.[76]

The *ŚP* throws much light–though, of course, incidentally–on the characters and personalities of the two gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Śiva created Brahmā from his right side, but soon, having deluded him with his *māyā,* Śiva, in the course of his sport, made him manifest in the umbilical lotus of Viṣṇu.[77] He was subsequently commissioned to create the universe.[78] In another passage pertaining to the origin of Brahmā, the *ŚP* describes how the divine golden egg floated in the waters for many years, how at the end of a thousand years, being hit by Īśvara (Śiva) it split into two, how the auspicious golden upper lid of the egg became the upper region and the lower lid became the earth having five characteristics, and how from the middle of the egg was born the four-faced lord (Brahmā) called Ka. It is further said that when the *Yajurveda* referring to Śiva called out *oṁ oṁ.* the *Ṛgveda* and the *Sāmaveda* respectively called the other two gods Hari and *Brahmā.*[79] On one occasion there arose a feud between Viṣṇu and Brahmā on apparently flimsy grounds. They locked themselves in battle with a view to killing each other. Fearing an imminent untimely dissolution of the universe, Śiva intervened between them in the form of a huge blazing column of

75. *ŚP* 2.1.9.45-48.
76. *ŚP* 2.1.16.40-45.
77. *ŚP* 2.1.7.4-5.
78. *ŚP* 2.1.9.20.
79. *ŚP* 2.1.8.22-26.

fire. Thereupon the two gods, proud of their own prowess, jointly decided to discover the top and the bottom of the column. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar and went down in search of the bottom, and Brahmā in the form of a swan went in search of the top. Incidentally, it is on account of this that Viṣṇu came to be known as Śvetavārāha and Brahmā as Haṁsa Virāṭ.[80] Piercing through the nether worlds and even going very far below, Viṣṇu could not reach the root of the fiery column. Utterly exhausted, Viṣṇu, in the form of a boar, returned to the battlefield. Brahmā too met with a similar fate in his upward search. Viṣṇu frankly and truthfully admitted his failure. But Brahmā untruthfully boasted to Viṣṇu that he had found out the top of the column. The *Ketaka* flower which Brahmā had come across in the course of his descent, having been pressurised by him, confirmed Brahmā's false statement. At that moment, Śiva, who knew what had actually happened, appeared before the two gods in his personal form. He told Viṣṇu that he was pleased with him on account of his truthfulness and granted him the boon that he (Viṣṇu) would have a footing equal to that of Śiva and that he would be honoured in the world with a separate temple and a separate festival. On the other hand, he chastised the deceitful Brahmā with the curse that he (Brahmā) would not have a separate temple or festival for himself. Śiva also excluded the *Ketaka* flower from his worship. Later on, however, Śiva, the simpleton that he was, relented and proclaimed that Brahmā would be honoured as the presiding deity in all *śrauta* and *gṛhya* sacrifices,[81] and that the *Ketaka* flower would be worn by his attendants and followers if not by himself.[82] In this very context, Viṣṇu, while pleading with Śiva for mercy for Brahmā, refers to Brahmā as having five heads.[83] According to a Purāṇa-account, when the four heads of Brahmā became thwarted in their function because of his excessive erotic impulse, he practised *tapas* and obtained a fifth head on the top. Indeed, Brahmā is often portrayed in the *ŚP* as being particularly lustful, as, for instance, in the cases of Saṁdhyā, Satī, and Pārvatī. Śiva's occasional repugnance for Brahmā

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80. *ŚP* 2.1.7.59, 54; also cf. 2.1.15.24.
81. This evidently betrays the confusion which the Purāṇa makes between god Brahmā and the sacrificial priest Brahman.
82. *ŚP*. 1.7.1 ff.; 1.8.10-21.
83. *ŚP* 1.8.7.

has its root in this weakness of Brahmā.[84] Elsewhere, Śiva is seen reproaching both Brahmā and Viṣṇu for their delusion (mauḍhya) which was the result of their not meditating upon him properly. He, therefore, recommended to them the *oṁkāra-mantra*.[85]

It will be seen that, in contrast to Brahmā, Viṣṇu is represented in the *ŚP* as having a more sober, mature, and generally dignified personality. Besides the usual reference to the origin of Viṣṇu from the side of Śiva,[86] the *ŚP* gives another more detailed account in that regard. While Śiva and Śivā were sporting in the Ānandavana (later called Avimukta),[87] they wished that some other being be brought into existence who would be responsible for the creation, the sustenance, and the dissolution of the universe. Having entrusted to him these duties, Śiva and Śivā could continue to live on in the Ānandavana free from all worries. Therefore, with the consent of Śivā, Śiva spread the liquorous nectar on his left side, on the tenth limb. Therefrom there arose a being who was the most charming one in the three worlds, who was, as it were, an ocean of immeasurable majesty. He bowed to Śiva and said : "O Lord, give me names and assign to me my duty." Śiva said : "You will become famous by the name Viṣṇu on account of your being all-pervasive (*vyāpaktvāt*).[88] You will also have many other names which will bring happiness to your devotees. Now do you practise penance." Viṣṇu practised severe austerities for a very long time, following the path of meditation. In the end, streams of waters of various sorts flowed from his body, as the result of Śiva's *māyā*. These waters of the form of Brahman pervaded the entire void. The exhausted Viṣṇu went to sleep amidst the waters in a state of blissful delusion. That is how his name Nārāyaṇa (that is, one who has his abode in waters), as approved by the Śruti, became well established. Viṣṇu also came to be regarded as the primordial

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84. *ŚP* 2.2.19.58-61.
85. *ŚP* 1.10.14-16.
86. E.g. *ŚP* 2.1.9.17.
87. *ŚP* 2.1.6.30-31. The forest near Kāśī was called Ānandavana because it was the source of bliss; it was also called Avimukta because it was never–not even at the time of the great dissolution–abandoned by Śiva and Śivā.
88. The tendency on the part of the *ŚP* to etymologise should be noted. For the etymology of the word *Viṣṇu*, see Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological Tract*, pp. 82-84.

Puruṣa. In the mean time the universe had begun to evolve from Prakṛti.[89]

Several other details about Viṣṇu, such as that he became entitled to a separate temple and a separate festival, that he was given the *oṁkār-mantra* by Śiva, that he recognised the *Śāṁkarī prabhutā*, and that he was called *Śivecchākāryakartā*, and that he was called Śvetavārāha, have already been referred to in earlier contexts. It may be specially noted that the *ŚP* characterises Viṣṇu as *śaivarāṭ*–the king among the devotees of Śiva.[90] He is also said to have secured from Śiva in the forms of the *śabdabrahman* the five *mantras*, namely, the *mṛtyuṁjaya*, the *pañcākṣara*, the *cintāmaṇi*, the *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, and the *tattvamasi* which last was the *mahāvākya* of Śiva.[91]

The attitude of the *ŚP* with regard to Viṣṇu and the Vaiṣṇavas (Viṣṇubhaktas) is remarkably liberal. One, no doubt, does come across a reference such as that a Tāntrika is not entitled to participation in a *Śivayajña* nor a person who wears *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* (vertical mark on the forehead) nor one who bears the mark made by a blazing wheel (*saṁtaptacakracihna*)–the last two classes clearly indicating the Vaiṣṇvas.[92] But such occurrences are quite exceptional. On the other hand, Śiva emphatically proclaims that Viṣṇu resides in his heart and he in Viṣṇu's and that those who make any distinction between the two do not adequately understand Śiva's mind.[93] He further declares that if any devotee of Rudra censures Viṣṇu he will have all his merits reduced to ashes instantaneously.[94] Viṣṇu also reciprocates by assuring Śiva that, if any of his (Viṣṇu's) devotees censures Śiva, that devotee will be condemned to a perpetual residence in hell. Whoever is Śiva's devotee is also a great favourite of Viṣṇu.[95] No distinction is to be made between Viṣṇu and Rudra–verily, Viṣṇu is to be meditated upon by Rudra and Rudra by Viṣṇu.[96] Elsewhere the *ŚP* says that even the devotees of Viṣṇu

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89. *ŚP* 2.1.6.32-55.
90. *ŚP* 2.1.2.47.
91. *ŚP* 2.1.8.48-49. As has been pointed out earlier, Śiva is regarded as being identical with the entity denoted by *tat* in *tat tvam asi*.
92. *ŚP* 1.24.48.
93. *ŚP* 2.1.9.55-56.
94. *ŚP* 2.1.10.8.
95. *ŚP* 2.1.10.30-31.
96. *ŚP* 2.1.10.6.

and other deities may wear *rudrākṣa* though it constitutes an exclusive features of the worship of Śiva.[97] In a noteworthy passage we see Śiva advising Viṣṇu as follows : "whenever misery overtakes this world created by Brahmā, you should be ever prepared to alleviate it. Be assured that in all your difficult undertakings I shall render to you whatever help you may need. In this world do you become the bestower of worldly pleasure and salvation to your devotees. Engage yourself in the acts of curbing and blessing (*nigraha* and *anugraha*)." Saying this and holding Brahmā and Viṣṇu by the hand Śiva imparted to each of them his ultimate teaching as it were with the words : "Always render help in distress (*duḥkheṣu sahāyo bhava sarvadā*).[98]

III. Śiva : Worship

As for the tradition regarding the knowledge of the worship (*pūjā*) of Śiva, the *ŚP* mentions that Sanatkumāra transmitted that knowledge to Upamanyu, Upamanyu to Vyāsa, Vyāsa to Sūta, and Sūta to the Ṛṣis.[99] The word *pūjā* is etymologically explained as *pūr jāyate yasyāḥ sā. Pūr* means *pūrṇabhogaphalasiddhi*–complete achievement of the fruits of enjoyment. The activity by means of which *pūr* is produced (*jāyate*) is called *pūjā*. The word is said to have been used in this sense in the Vedas.[100] Actually, however, the word *pūjā* as such does not at all occur in the early Vedic texts. As has been pointed out in an earlier context, fivefold *pūjā* is recommended for the propitiation of Śiva (and other gods) : *mantrajapa, homa, dāna, tapas,* and *samārādhana* on the *sthaṇḍila,* the *pratimā,* Agni, or Brāhmaṇa. The sixteen forms of service (*ṣoḍaśopacāra*) have to be duly observed.[101] A special feature of the *Śivapūjā* is that, while the other gods are worshipped only in the form of *bera* (=*mūrti*), Śiva is worshipped in the form of *bera* as well as in form of *liṅga,* which latter mode of worship is most common and most efficacious. Incidentally, the word *bera* is rather strange and is not usually recorded in dictionaries. It, however, occurs in the name of Kubera who is represented as a special friend of Śiva. Kubera had a deformed body (*ku*-

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97. *ŚP* 1.25.62.
98. *ŚP* 2.1.10.2-11.
99. *ŚP* 2.1.11.6-9.
100. *ŚP* 1.16.29-30.
101. *ŚP* 1.14.23-24.

bera) with three legs, eight teeth, and (as the result of a curse by Pārvatī) a yellow mark in the place of the left eye[102]. In the context of the worship of Śiva, the liṅga is said to be principal (*pradhāna*) and the bera to be subordinate (*gauṇa*)[103]. Indeed, the four Vedas are said to be proclaiming that nothing is holier than the liṅgapūja.[104] According to the *ŚP* , the tradition of the liṅgapūjā has come down from very ancient times.[105]

The *ŚP* clearly states that idols are of no avail to the person who realises that Lord Śiva is present within the heart of every being in this world. But for a person who has not attained to such realisation, the idea of an idol is quite auspicious and essential, An idol serves as a ladder to climb upto a higher position. But the idol-worship is after all only a means to attain to *nirguṇa* Śiva.[106] The *ŚP* understandably deals at some length with the rites relating to the worship of clay idols (*pārthivapratimā-pūjāvidhāna*).[107] The idols of five deities, namely, Gaṇeśa, Āditya, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, and Śiva, are to be usually worshipped, but a Brāhmaṇa is advised always to worship the Śivaliṅga. Details are given regarding the making of the idols, the various kinds of offerings (*naivedya*), the special days for worship the *nitya*, the *naimittika*, and the kāmya rites, the fruits of the different kinds of *pūjā*, etc. The offering to Śiva of white flowers and rare flowers is specially recommended. The *mantras* employed in the Śivapūjā are derived mostly from the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* of the *Śukla-yajurveda*.[108] The *ŚP* prescribes that all the items of the pūjā should first of all be gone through mentally (*saṁpūjya manasā pūrvam)* and then the *pūjā* should be actually performed item by item.[109] In one passage, the *ŚP* describes one kind of Śivapūjā as follows : The worshipper should make the mystical diagram. of the lotus of eight petals (*aṣṭadala*) and install Śiva in its middle. He should have all the materials of worship by his side. He should sip water three times, wash his hands, do *prāṇāyāma*

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102. *ŚP* 1. 2.1.19.30-31.
103. *ŚP* 1.9.46.
104. *ŚP* 1.21.32.
105. *ŚP* 1.2.1.10.37. Further details regarding the *liṅga* and its *pūjā* will be given in the next paper in this series.
106. *ŚP* . 2.1.12.62-64.
107. *ŚP* 1.16.1.ff.
108. *ŚP* 2.1.11.49 ff. 61-65.
109. *ŚP* 1.16.19.

three times, and then meditate upon Tryambaka (the three-eyed Śiva) as a god with five heads, ten arms, tiger-hide, etc. During this meditation the worshipper should completely identify himself with Śiva, [110] It is specifically emphasized in the Purāṇa that both men and women and the persons belonging to all *varṇas* including the Śūdras are entitled to Śivapūjā.[111]

It is said that a devout worship of Śiva liberates man from the bondage of birth. One derives one fourth merit from the wearing of *rudrākṣa*, one half from the smearing holy ashes, three fourths from the repetition of the *mantra*, while one derives the entire merit from the entire *pūjā*.[112] The *ŚP* gives various details regarding the procedure of the *japa* of the *Pañcā Kṣara-mantra–Namaḥ Śivāya*. It further says that by means of the *Japa* a Brāhmaṇa gradually becomes liberated, and a Brāhmaṇa women (uttering the word *namaḥ* at the end of the *mantra* instead of at the beginning)transcends her womanhood and becomes a man in her onward progress towards *mokṣa*. Similarly, by means of the repetition of the *mantra* for a stipulated number of times, a *Śūdra* (uttering the word *namaḥ* at the end of the *mantra*), or a Vaiśya, or a Kṣatriya becomes liberated after passing through the stages of Mantra-Vaiśya, Mantra-Kṣatriya, Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, and Brāhmaṇa *mutatis mutandis.*[113] That is to say, a Śūdra, for instanee, first becomes a Mantra-Vaiśya, then a Vaiśya, then a Mantra-Kṣatriya, then a Kṣatriya, then a Mantra- Brāhmaṇa, and then a Brāhmaṇa.

The wearing of *rudrākṣa* constitutes one of the special features of the Śivapūjā. The Śp narrates the following legend regarding the origin of *rudrākṣa*. Śiva had been practising penance for thousands of divine years. Though he had scrupulously controlled his mind, it once became perturbed. So with the desire of helping the world, the self-possessed Śiva sportively opened his eyes. Thereupon tears dropped down from his beautiful eyes. The *rudrākṣa* plants were produced from those tear-drops.[114] The *ŚP* then goes on to list the various places where the *rudrākṣa* plants grow. It is further stated that, at the bidding of Śiva, the

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110. *ŚP* 2.1.11.33-36.
111. *ŚP* 1.16.5; 2.1.11.4.
112. *ŚP* 1.16.115-116
113. *ŚP* 17.121-128.
114. *ŚP* 1.25.5-7.

auspicious *rudrākṣas* were classified into four *varṇas*, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, respectively in accordance with their colours, namely, white, red, yellow, and black. A *rudrākṣa* of the size of a *dhātrīphala* is the best, that of the size of a *badarīphala* is middling, and that of the size a gram (*caṇa*) is the meanest. The lighter the *rudrākṣa*, the more fruitful it is. *Rudrākṣas* which are of even size (*sama*), glossy (snigdha), firm (*dṛḍha*), and thick (*sthūla*), and which have thorny protrusions yield the best results, Six types of rudrākṣa should be avoided : that which is defiled by worms, that which is broken, that which is cut , that which is without thornlike protrusions, that which is injured, and that which is not round. The *rudrākṣa* which has a natural hole from end to end is excellent and that which is man-bored is middling.[115] The wearing of rudrākṣa is conducive to the destruction of all sins.[116] The *ŚP* explains in detail how, how many, and for what results the *rudrākṣas* are to be worn. It is said to be the bidding of Śiva that men belonging to all *varṇas* and all *āśramas* and worshipping any dities–and even women–may wear *rudrākṣas*.[117]

The *rudrākṣas* are also classified according to the number of mouths (*vaktra*) which they have. For instance. the *rudrākṣa* with a single mouth is said to be Śiva himself and to bestow upon the user both worldly pleasure and salvation. In this manner, the *rudrākṣas,* from the one having two mouths (called *Iśa*) up to the one having fourteen mouths (called Parama Śiva) are enumerated and named. To these fourteen kinds of *rudrākṣas* are respectively assigned fourteen different *mantras,* beginning with *oṁ hrīṁ namaḥ* and ending with *oṁ namaḥ*. The Purāṇa warns that whoever wears the *rudrākṣa* without the relevant *mantra* will be condemned to hell for a period equivalent to the tenure of fourteen Indras.[118]

The offering of *bilva* trefoils is another special feature of the Śivapūjā. The *ŚP* even claims that the whole Śivapūjā is consummated by means of offering of the *bilva* leaves alone.[119] The *bilva* is said to be *mahādevasvarūpa*–of the nature of Mahādeva himself. Indeed, all the

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115. *ŚP* 1.25.9-23.
116. *ŚP* 1.25.24.
117. *ŚP* 1.25.47, 62.
118. *ŚP* 1.25.64-83.
119. *ŚP* 2.1.13.65.

holy places remain united at the root of the *bilva* tree. Any kind of association with the *bilva* tree accordingly conduces to great religious merit.[120]

It is said that the name of Śiva (*śivanāma*), *vibhūti* or *bhasma* (sacred ashes), and *rudrākṣa* are together on a par with the Triveṇi or the confluence of the three holy rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī.[121] The importance of *bhasma* has been brought out by the *ŚP* through its usual peculiar mode of etymologising. *Bhasma* is that which is regarded (*ma* from *man*) as being conducive to resplendence (*bhas* for *bhās* : the text uses the synonym *dīpti*).[122] Or *bhasma* is explained as that which considers (*ma* from *man*) the growth (*bha*)[123] of everything to be dependent upon itself (*s* from *sva*).[124] All this may be broadly interpreted to mean that *bhasma*, which Śiva has sanctified by using it himself,[125] endows the user with resplendence and control over everything.

Vibhūti or *bhasma*, according to the *ŚP* , is of three kinds according as it is derived from the secular *(laukika)* fire or from the Vedic fire or from the Śiva-fire. The secular ashes are to be used for secular purposes such as the cleaning of utensils, grains, etc. The ashes derived from the Vedic fire should be smeared on the forehead at the end of the Vedic rites. Since these ashes are sanctified by the *mantras* pertaining to the sacred rites, using them becomes tantamount to assimilating those sacred rites themselves into one's Ātman. The *bhasma* derived from the fire produced by the burning of *bilva* twigs in the accompaniment of the *aghora ātmamantra* is the *Śivāgnibhasma*. The *Śivāgni* is produced also by the burning first of the dung of a *kapilā* cow and then of the twigs of *śamī, aśvattha, palāśa, vaṭa, āragvadha* or *bilva*.[126] Elsewhere the *ŚP* speaks of two types of *bhasma*–the *mahābhasma* and the *svalpabhasma*. The *mahābhasma*, in its turn, is of three types–*śrauta, smārta*, and *laukika*–the *śrauta* and the *smārta* types of the *mahābhasma* being

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120. *ŚP* 1.22.21-31.

121. *ŚP* 1.23.10.

122. *ŚP* 1.18.66 : *diptyarthaṁ tat tu saṁgrāhyaṁ manyate pūjyate'pi ca / bhasmaśabdārtha evaṁ hi śivaḥ pūrvaṁ tathā' karot //*

123. Cf. the etymology of the word *bhaga* referred to above.

124. *ŚP* 1.18.74 : *bha-vṛddhyā sarvam etad dhi manyate svayamityasau.*

125. Cf.*ŚP* 1.18.66.

126. *ŚP* 1.18.57-65.

intended only for the twice-born who have to use them only with the relevant *mantras*. The seven mantras prescribed in this connection occur in the *Bhasmajābālopaniṣad*. They are : *agnir iti bhasma, vāyur iti bhasma, jalam iti bhasma, sthalam iti bhasma, vyometi bhasma, devā bhasma,* and *ṛṣayo bhasma*. Persons belonging to any of the *varṇas* and any of the *āśramas* may put the *tripuṇḍra* (three horizontal parallel lines) on their foreheads or on the thirty two or sixteen or eight or five parts of the body which have been duly mentioned[127] or dust their bodies with *bhasma*, with the prescribed *mantras* or without them but always with reverence.[128] Even a Cāṇḍāla who wears *rudrākṣa* on his body and *tripuṇḍra* on his forehead is worthy of great respect.[129] The *ŚP* gives various details regarding the procedure of the *tripuṇḍradhāraṇa* and the *bhasmoddhūlana* and the fruits resulting therefrom.[130] Each of the three lines of the *tripuṇḍra* is said to be presided over by nine deities. The deities of the first line, for instance, are the syllable of the *oṁkāra*, the *gārhapatya* fire, the earth, *dharma*, *rajoguṇa* , the *Ṛgveda*, *kriyāśakti*, *prātaḥsavana*, and Mahādeva. The Purāṇa mentions, in the same mystic strain, the nine deities of each of the other two lines of the *tripuṇḍra*.[131] Finally, attention may be drawn to the assertion of the *ŚP* that, after looking over the essence of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* again and again, one would hardly fail to conclude that *tripuṇḍra* is conducive to the highest spiritual merit.[132] One may also take note of the suggestion that in the context of Śiva himself, *bhasma*, in spite of its apparent loathesomeness, assumes erotic and creative significance because of its association with the burning and subsequent resurrection of Kāma and Satī.

In the matter of *pūjā* we see another rather unexpected trend in the *ŚP*. The Purāṇa says that the *tapoyajña* (penance) is superior to thousands of *karmayajñas* (ritualistic sacrifice) and the *japayajña* (repetition of the Śiva-*mantra*) is superior to thousands of *tapoyajñas*, but there is nothing superior to the *dhyānayajña* (meditation) because *dhyāna* leads to true

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127. *ŚP* 1.24. 97-112.
128. *ŚP* 1.24.1-9.
129. *ŚP* 1.24.62.
130. *ŚP* 1.24.10 ff.
131. *ŚP* 1.24.88-94.
132. *ŚP* 1.24.73.

knowledge. One is enabled to experience direct realisation of one's desired divinity through meditation. Śiva is claimed to be ever present near the person who is steeped in the *dhyānayajña*. A person who is endowed with true knowledge and Brahman-realisation does not become subject to any kind of atonement or expiation. He need not perform any religious rite. Verily, he is beyond any consideration of happiness or misery, *dharma* or *adharma*, *japa*, *homa* or *dhyāna*.[133] The question is also mooted as to how one can at all think of any kind of worship of Śiva who is essentially desireless (*nispṛha*) and perfect (*pūrṇa*). One is, therefore, expected to keep oneself engaged in one's appointed duties always remembering that any activity done with a sense of complete dedication to Śiva brings forth his grace.[134]

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133. *ŚP* 2.1.12.45-49.
134. *ŚP* 1.18.14. This is reminiscent of the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

PURANIC HELP IN CORRECTING CORRUPT PASSAGES OCCURRING IN PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS*

BY

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

[मुद्रितेषु दर्शनग्रन्थेषु सन्ति एवंविधा बहवो भ्रष्टाः पाठा येषां संशोधनं पौराणिक-साहित्याश्रयेण कर्तुं शक्यते । एतद्विषये किमप्युदाहरणमत्र प्रस्तूयते ।

वाचस्पतिकृतायां भामतीटीकायां (योगबलोदाहरणप्रस्तावे पठ्यते–"तथा चाहुरागमिनः को हि योगप्रभावादृते अगस्त्य इव समुद्रं पिबति स इव दण्डकारण्यं सृजति" । एतदनुरूपः कश्चित् पाठो वाचस्पतिकृतायां तात्पर्यटीकायामपि दृश्यते ।

अनयोर्वाक्योरिदमुक्तं यद् योऽगस्त्यः समुद्रपानकर्ता, स एव दण्डकारण्यस्यापि स्रष्टा । कथनमिदमसंगतं यतः पुराणेषु अगस्त्यस्य समुद्रपानकारित्वम् उक्तं, न पुनर्दण्डकारण्यसर्जनम् । दण्डकारण्यविषयिणी या पौराणिकी कथा विभूतिप्रसंगे उदाहर्तुमुचिता, सा एतदरण्यनाशपरका, यो नाशः शुक्रेण कृतः (कन्यावमानात् क्रुद्धः सन् शुक्रो दण्डराजं शशाप-सप्तरात्रव्यापिना पांशुवर्षेण तव राज्यं नाशमेतु इति । अतो भामती-तात्पर्यटीका-ग्रन्थद्वयगते वाक्ये 'स इव' इत्यत्र 'शुक्र इव' इति पाठनीयम्; 'सृजती' त्यपि संशोधनीयम्, परन्तु केन शुद्धपाठेनात्र भवितव्यमिति चिन्तनीयम् ।

अस्य पाठभ्रंशस्य को हेतुरिति न समयक् विज्ञायते । इदं प्रतीयते यद् योगपरम्परायां दण्डकारण्यसृष्टिपराऽपि काचित् कथा प्रचलितासीत्। सा कथा भ्रमाद् अगस्त्येन सह संबन्धा जाता, सुप्रचलिता च । एतत्कथासंस्कारवद्भिः पाठकैः टीकाद्वयगतवाक्ययोः परिवर्तनं कृतमिति संभाव्यते । वस्तुतः पाठभ्रंशहेतुनिर्धारणीयो विद्वद्भिरिति ।]

In the Purāṇas we sometimes find such statements as afford help in correcting corrupt passages occurring in philosophical works. An example of this kind is given in my article 'A corrupt reading in the Parimala commentary on the Bhāmati corrected with the help of the Purāṇas.[1] A second example is given here.

The Bhāmatī commentary of Vācaspati reads : तथाहु रागमिनः–को हि योगप्रभावादृते अगस्त्य इव समुद्रं पिबति स इव दण्डकारण्यं सृजति (on Śārīraka-

*. Purāṇa vol. XXX, No 2 (July 1988), pp 121-125.

1. Published in the J. of G.N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad: Vol. XXXV. 3-4.

bhāṣya 4.4.9).[2] It is clear that Vācaspati connects सृजति with Agastya. A similar passage is found in Vācaspati's Tātparyaṭīkā : यथाहुरत्र भवन्तः को हि योगप्रभावाद् ऋते अगस्त्य इव समुद्रं पिबति स इव च दण्डकारण्यं सृजति (on Nyāyabhāṣya 1.1.1).[3]

It is perfectly clear that both of these two passages of the same author speak of the results of two supernormal powers, namely (i) the drinking of the water of the ocean by the sage Agastya and (ii) the creation of the forest Daṇḍaka[4] (by Agastya).

It is needless to say that the original source of these two incidents is Puranic literature comprising the Purāṇas, the Upapurāṇas and the two Epics. (These incidents are found to have been referred to by the authors of non-Puranic works also, who obviously came to know of these incidents from Puranic tradition).

But if we go through Puranic literature we come across a discrepancy; to be explicit : while Agastya's drinking of oceanic water is described in various ways in this literature[5] we find no mention of the creation of the Daṇḍaka forest by Agastya in it, though it says many things about this forest.[6] It is to be noted here clearly that the only incident about this forest that may be put as an example of the result of some supernormal power is its destruction (and not creation) by the curse of the sage Śukra (and not

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2. The sub-commentary Kalpataru of Amalānanda explains the passage as : अगस्त्यो हि समुद्रं संकल्पमात्रेण पपौ । कस्यचिद् ऋषेः शापात् प्राणिनिवासानर्हमपि दण्डकारण्यं निवासयामास.

3. Udayana in his Pariśuddhi explains the passage as: विभूतिमता अनेककालोपभोग्यमपि एकदा भुज्यत इत्यत्र समुद्रपानमुदाहरणम् । योगर्धिप्रभावसंपन्नो विविधफलभोगिनो विचित्रस्वभावान् एकदैव बहून् कायान् इच्छामात्रेणैव निर्मिमीत इत्यत्र दण्डकारण्यसृष्टिरुदाहरणम् (p. 90, Mithila Institute Series).

4. Śaṅkaramiśra in his Upaskāra refers to these two incidents as the results of yogic power : योगज एव धर्मः प्रत्यासत्तिस्तत्र: अगस्त्यसमुद्रपानं दण्डकारण्यनिर्माणं चेति दृष्टान्तः (9.1.14).

5. See Sk. Nāgarakhaṇḍa 35.30-41 (through *viśoṣiṇī vidyā*); Nāgarakhaṇḍa 36.36-47 (by uttering the *mantra* 'काली कराली....'); Nāgarakhaṇḍa 60.2-3 (through *śoṣaṇī vidyā* with the help of an Ātharvaṇa *mantra*) see also Mbh. Vana-p. 105.3.6; Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 1.213.5. The incident has been alluded to in some Purāṇas : Liṅga-p. 1.29.29 (क्षीरोदश्च....ह्यपेयो ब्राह्मणै कृतः), Brahmāṇḍa-p 2.52.16 (अगस्त्य-पीतसलिले.....).

6. As for example, see Śānti-p. 29.137 (यमभ्यसिञ्चन् संभूय महारण्ये महर्षयः; according to Nīl. *mahāraṇya* is Daṇḍakāraṇya and *'yam'* refers to *'pṛthum'*.

of the sage Agastya) to the king Daṇḍa (son of Ikṣvāku), who violated Arajas, daughter of the sage.[7]

Since there is no mention of the creation of the Daṇḍaka forest in the Puranic works by Agastya or even by Śukra, *it may reasonably be concluded that the printed reading of the above two passages is corrupt.*

The corrupt reading may however be corrected in the light of Puranic literature. Since Śukra is said to be the agent of the act of destroying the forest Daṇḍaka, the printed reading स इव (in both the passages) which connects Agastya with the act of destruction may be corrected to शुक्र इव. The finite verb सृजति is to be corrected to a word expressing the sense of destruction or an act similar to it that has been stated in the relevant Puranic passages.

It is a pity that the authors of the two sub-commentaries expressed no doubt about the correctness of the reading. Amalānanda's comment shows that he was aware of the ruined condition of the forest on account of the curse of 'some' sage. I have every reason to believe that Amalānanda knew that the sage was no other than Śukra. But since he read the reading as shown above and regarded it as valid he explained सृजति not by its synonym जनयति or उत्पादयति but by निवासयामास (in लिट् लकार) so that the meaning would be in consonance with the nature of a forest.[8] Udayana's explanation of दण्डकारण्यसृष्टि is not at all clear. Is there any similarity between बहुकायनिर्माण and दण्डकारण्यनिर्माण (both through yoga) ?

The corruptness of the readings of the above two passages may be known from another source also. It may be easily observed that Vācaspati begins his statement by saying तथाहुरागमिनः and यथाहुरत्रभवन्तः. This undoubtedly shows that Vācaspati is referring here to the statement of some ancient authority. Fortunately this authority is known to us. It is the

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7. See Rāmāyaṇa (7.81.1-18), Padma-p. (5.34.49-59) and Vāmana-p. (63.19-37; 66.1-18). It is said here that Daṇḍa, son of Ikṣvāku, violated Arajaṣ, daughter of Śukra. Consequently Sūkra pronounced a curse on account of which Daṇḍa's kingdom was buried deep in an ash-hill in a week. The incident is alluded to in Mbh. Anuśāsana-p. 153.11 (दण्डकानां महद् राज्यं ब्राह्मणेन विनाशितम्) and 151.7 (येषां कोपाग्नि-रद्यापि दण्डके नोपशाम्यति). The significance of अद्यापि (even to-day) remains to be disclosed by competent scholars. See also Arhaśāstra 1.6 and Kāmasūtra 1.2.44 with their commentaries.

8. निवासयामास–from the root नि+वस् (णिच्) 'to found', cp. माहिष्मतीं पुरीं निवासयामास (Viṣṇu-p. 4.11.9).

Vyāsabhāṣya (on Yogasūtra 4.10) which reads : दण्डकारण्यं च चित्तबलव्यतिरेकेण कः शारीरेण कर्मणा शून्यं कर्तुमुत्सहेत समुद्रमगस्त्यवद् वा पिवेत्.

Though in this passage there is no mention of the agent of the act of emptying the Daṇḍaka forest, yet the wording of the passage clearly shows that this agent must be different from Agastya. Though the Tattvavaiśāradī comm. of Vācaspati is silent on this point, yet the comm. Yogavārttika of Vijñanabhikṣu refers to the incident by giving the name of the agent of destruction as Śukra (दण्डकदेशं तद्राजे क्रोधान्विते[9] शुक्रः सप्तदिनशिलावृष्ट्या जनशून्यं चकार) obviously on the basis of Puranic works.

Since Vācaspati was a commentator of the Vyāsabhāṣya and since he was well-versed in the Epic-Puranic tradition,[10] it would be wrong to hold that Vācaspati was ignorant of the nature and author of the incident concerning the forest Daṇḍaka. This also strengthens our view that the printed readings of the Bhāmati and the Tātparyatīkā are corrupt and that they are to be corrected with the help of Puranic literature–the original source of the two *ākhyānas* relating to Agastya and Śukra.

Since both the acts, namely अगस्त्यकृतसमुद्रजलपान and शुक्रकृतदण्डकारण्यशून्यीकरण were well-known episodes of the Purāṇas, a question may be raised about the reason that gave rise to the corrupt reading in the later period. It is not easy to show the reason.

Following factor may be considered in this connection. The Vivaraṇa comm. (which is not by Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya but by some later Śaṅkrāacārya) on the Vyāsabhāṣya says : दण्डकारण्यं चित्तबलव्यतिरेकेण कः कर्तुं शक्नोति कश्च पिबेत् समुद्रमगस्त्यवदिति (4.10). (This shows that the commentator read the Bhāṣya-passage as दण्डकारण्यं कर्तुमुत्सहेत (in the place of दण्डकारण्यं शून्यं कर्तुम् उत्सहेत). This reading (which seems to be an emanded form of the original reading शून्यं कर्तुम्) may be supposed to have some regional basis. Since only Agastya is mentioned in this Bhāṣya-passage, दण्डकारण्यसृष्टि came to be wrongly considered as connected with

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9. Vijñānabhikṣu seems to have written क्रोधान्वित inadvertently; he should have written कामान्विते; cp. दाण्डक्यो नाम भोजः कामाद् ब्राह्मणकन्यामभिमन्यमानः सबन्धुराष्ट्रो विननाश (Kāmasūtra 1.2.44).

10. Vācaspati is found to have quoted from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and Vāyu-purāṇa. He seems to have known some of the other Purāṇas also, for while explaining Nandīśvara's acquiring of a divine body (as stated in the Vyāsabhāṣya 2.13), he added that Nandin was 'eight years old' at that time–a fact not stated in the works on yoga but in the Purāṇas (Sk. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 11.106, Śiva-p. 3.6.49-52 and other Purāṇas).

Agastya.[11] Agastya's connection with the Daṇḍaka (as mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa 1.1.42-43) may have strengthened the notion of Agastya's destroying the Daṇḍaka forest. Some scholars seem to have 'corrected' the original sentence, being influenced by this notion.

This however is a conjecture only and the conjecture is very weak, for it is based only on the printed reading of the Vivaraṇa commentary, which has not been edited properly with the help of several manuscripts. It may be further noted that Puranic tradition knew of the creation of the Daṇḍaka[12] forest also, but that is not through yogic power but through kingly power (Harivaṁśa 1.10.24-25). A fruitful discussion on the reason for the corrupt readings seems to depend on the older manuscripts of Bhāmatī and Tātparyatīkā.

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11. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha seems to hold the view that Agastya's curse fell on the Daṇḍaka forest : अगस्त्यादिरप्राकृतोऽपि बहुहिंसाकरं दण्डकारण्यशापाख्यम् अधर्मं चकार (Śānti-p. 260.6).

12. It may be noted that Daṇḍakā is also used for Daṇḍaka, vide Gaṇaratnamahodadhi 1.61 "दण्डका अरण्यम् । 'वर्षाणि तिष्ठतु चतुर्दश दण्डकायाम्' (अनर्घराघव ४।६६) ।: 'प्राप्तानि दुःखान्यपि दण्डकेषु संचिन्त्यमानानि सुखी बभूवुः' इति रघुकाव्ये (१४।२५ चिन्त्यम्)

PURĀṆAS AND THE SIXTY-FOUR ARTS

BY

N. GANGADHARAN

[प्राचीनकाले चतुःषष्टिकलानां चतुःषष्टिविद्यानां वा शिक्षणं भवति स्म । विशेषतो राजकुमाराणाम् आसां विद्यानां शिक्षणमावश्यकभासीत् । पुराणेषु, वात्स्यायनस्य कामसूत्रे, भोजस्य शृङ्गारप्रकाशे अन्यग्रन्थेषु च प्रकरणानुसारतः आसां कलानां विद्यानां वा वर्णनं प्राप्यते । अत्र लेखकेन आसां कलानां संक्षिप्तविवरणं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

Introduction:

The Purāṇas, reckoned as eighteen, are classified into different groups on the basis of the subject matter dealt with in them and the deities towards which they are oriented. The statement relating to *Mahābhārata* that whatever is found therein is found elsewhere and whatever is not found therein is found nowhere is very well applicable to the Purāṇas also. The Purāṇas often claim their antiquity at par with the Vedas. Although the earliest among the extant Purāṇas cannot be placed prior to the 2nd century, the Purāṇic wisdom and thought had their existence during the period of the Brāhmaṇas along with the Vedas. Hence they serve as the best source for understanding the Indian culture. We notice in them synthesis of cultures, social activities, religious ways of life and philosophical discussions. Besides the five characteristics and other legitimate topics flowing from them, the Purāṇas contain a lot of other secular matter of general interest. The Purāṇas had assimilated a whole range of thoughts in different branches of learning during the period of their growth. That was a period when there was total harmony among the different sections of the society and the process of thinking. There was synthesis of one quality with another; of truth with good and beauty and of knowledge with devotion and deeds.

Among the eighteen Purāṇas, *Agnipurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa* and *Nāradapurāṇa* are classified as encyclopedic on account of diverse subject matter dealt with in them. In this article an attempt is made to examine how much of the sixty-four arts we may be able to trace in the Purāṇas. The purpose of this extensive article is to draw the attention of the researchers to the potential nature of the Purāṇas as the best source for

knowing our past achievements. We have to explain the sixty-four arts mentioned in the different texts in Sanskrit literature before we proceed with the topic.

The Sixty-four Arts:

The sixty-four arts (*Catuṣṣaṣṭikalā*-s or *Catuṣṣaṣṭividyā*-s) represent the cultural background and advancement in arts, science and literature of the ancient Indian society. These represent the arts, crafts and miscellaneous ingenuities and dexterities of the mind and the hand. These arts help in the development of one's personality and they pertain to the character of a person. They are capable of kindling one's love or admiration for a person equipped with them. In olden days the princes were given instruction in these different arts in order to make them a good administrator. Bāṇabhaṭṭa states in his *Kādambarī* that the prince Candrāpīḍa had learnt all the arts and mentions some of them. These sixty-four arts do not include the popular fourteen branches of learning– the four Vedas, the six auxiliary texts, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇas, Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā.

We get different lists of the names of the sixty-four arts from the different Sanskrit texts. It appears that there were different traditions of reckoning the arts as allied to a particular branch of learning. Among the works of the early writers on the arts we find a list of the sixty-four arts in the *Kāmasūtra* (I.iii.16) of Vātsyāyana, referring to them as the *Aṅgavidyā* of Kāmaśāstra. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* gives the list found in the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* of Yaśodhara on the *Kāmasūtra*. These two lists classify the sixty-four arts into twenty-four resting on action (*karmāśraya*), twenty pertaining to gambling (*dyūtāśraya*), further divided as *nirjīva* and *sajīva*, twenty related to love and sexual enjoyment. The list of sixty-four arts in Vātsyāyana's work is not exactly identical with the list in the *Jayamaṅgalā* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. But the list of Vātsyāyana has names of arts corresponding to most of those in Bhoja and Yaśodhara. There are some minor differences between the lists in Bhoja and the *Jayamaṅgalā*.[1] The *Lalitavistara*, one of the Buddhist texts, mentions that Gautama Buddha had learnt very carefully the technique of good number of fine arts. Similarly one of the Jain scriptures claims that Mahāvīra had learnt the technique of seventy-two types of fine arts.[2]

1. See V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. pp. 660-661.
2. See Anil Baran Ganguly, *Sixty-four Arts in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1962, p.6.

We find a reference in the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* (X.45.33-36), *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V.21.21-22) and the *Harivaṁśa* (2.33) stating that the two brothers Śrīkṛṣṇa and Balarāma learnt the techniques of the sixty-four arts. The *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* neither mentions the names of the *kalā*-s nor furnishes any explanation. Some of the commentators on the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* mention the names of the sixty-four *kalā*-s without further explanation. Śrīdharasvāmin gives the names of the *kalā*-s drawing from a work called *Śaivatantra*. The Vaiṣṇava philosopher Vallabhācārya also describes briefly the sixty-four branches of fine arts as referred to in the *Śaivatantra* and some readings and interpretations differ from those given by Śrīdharasvāmin. Since the list given by Śrīdharasvāmin differs mostly in its sequence and names of the arts from those given in the *Jayamaṅgalā* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, we may reproduce the list made by Śrīdharasvāmin: 1) gītam (music), 2) vādyam (instrumental music), 3) nṛtyam (dancing), 4) nāṭyam (histrionics), 5) ālekhyam (painting), 6) Viśeṣakacchedyam (painting the forehead marks), 7) taṇḍulakusumabalivikāraḥ (drawing the figures of gods and sketches with rice grains and flowers), 8) puṣpāstaraṇam (making a bed of flowers), 9) daśanavasanāṅgarāgāḥ (painting the teeth, dying the cloth and besmearing the body), 10) maṇibhūmikākarma (inlaying or covering of a floor with jewels), 11) śayanaracanam (arranging the bed), 12) udaka-vādyamudakaghātaḥ [comprises two arts - udakavādyam (music with water) and udakaghāta (holding water in clasped hands and throwing in such a way that the stream of water falls evenly in all the directions)], 13) citrayogāḥ (the art of performing wonders), 14) mālyagrathanavikalpaḥ (several methods of stringing together flowers), 15) śekharāpīḍāyojanam (tying of the chaplet on the crown of the head), 16) nepathyayogāḥ (dressing of an actor), 17) karṇapatrabhaṅgāḥ (ornamenting the ears), 18) sugandhayuktiḥ (the art of making perfumes), 19) bhūṣaṇayojanam (adorning with ornaments), 20) aindrajālam (magic), 21) kaucumārayogāḥ (the art of accomplishing something that could not be achieved by normal methods), 22) hastalāghavam (sleight of hand), 23) citraśākāpūpabhakṣyavikārakriyāḥ (the art of preparing various kinds of pot-herbs, sweetmeats and other eatables), 24) pānakarasarāgāsavayojanam (extracting beverages, juices and decoction), 25) sūcīvāyakarma (the art of sewing and weaving), 26) sūtrakrīḍā (a sort of magic with thread and puppet-show), 27) vīṇāḍamarukavādyāni (proficiency in playing on the lute and drum, 28) prahelikā (conundrum), 29) pratimālā (reciting verse for verse as a trial of skill), 30) durvācakayogāḥ (a game of obscure-word making), 31)

pustakavācanam (reading out from a book with proper intonation), 32) nāṭakākhyāyikādarśanam (displaying a drama or narrative).

33) kāvyasamasyāpūraṇam (the art of composing and completing a verse), 34) paṭṭikāvetrabāṇa(vāna)vikalpāḥ (all sorts of cane-work), 35) tarkukarmāṇi (spinning yawn) or takṣakarma (art of chiseling), 36) takṣaṇam (carpentry), 37) vāstuvidyā (knowledge relating to a building and building site), 38) rūpyaratnaparīkṣā (examining the genuine coins and gems), 39) dhātuvādaḥ (mineralogy), 40)maṇirāgajñānam (knowledge about making imitation jewels), 41) ākarajñānam (knowledge about treasures), 42) vṛkṣāyurvedayogāḥ (planting and cultivation of trees), 43) meṣakukkuṭalāvakayuddhavidhiḥ (rules relating to ram, cock and quail fight), 44) śukasārikāpralāpanam (training of parrots and *sārikās* in imitating human speech), 45) utsādanam (massaging), 45) keśamārjanakauśalam (proficiency in combing the hair), 46) akṣaramuṣṭikākathanam (the art of communicating syllables or ideas by the fingers, 47) mlecchitakutarkavikalpāḥ (speaking in an unintelligible foreign jargon), 48) deśabhāṣājñānam (knowledge of many languages and dialects), 49) puṣpaśakaṭikānirmitijñānam (knowledge of making flowercarts and palanquins), 50) yantramātṛkā-dhāraṇamātṛkā (mechanical contrivances and the art of memorizing), 51) saṁvācyam (the art of conversation), 52) mānasīkāvyakriyā (ability to compose poetry mentally), 53) abhidhānakośa (knowledge of lexicography), 54) chandojñānam (knowledge of metrics), 55) kriyāvikalpāḥ (the knowledge of the theory of composing poems), 56) chalitakayogāḥ (the art of disguise), 58) vastragopanāni (dexterity in wearing the dress that it stays on or hiding the torn parts), 59) dyūtaviśeṣāḥ (different sorts of gambling), 60) ākarṣakrīḍā (the play of dice), 61) bālakrīḍanakāni (making toys for children), 62) vainayikīnām vidyānām jñānam (knowledge of the art relating to good behaviour), 63) vaijayikīnām vidyānām jñānam (knowledge of the art conferring victory), 64) vaitālikīnām vidyānām jñānam (knowledge of the art of a panegyrist).

From a random persual of the above list one may notice that some of these arts are dealt with in detail in the Purāṇas and adequate examples may be found for the others in one way or the other. It may be noted that the arts noticed above have not been grouped together on the basis of the subject matter. They have been rearranged into twenty-four groups on the basis of their subject matter and explained according to the interpretations of the different commentators and other allied texts in Sanskrit literature.[3]

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3. See Anil Baran Ganguly, *Sixty-four Arts in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1962

They are vocal music, instrumental music, dancing, histrionics, painting, body decoration, other decorative arts. spread of flower-beds, paving the floor with gems, skill in throwing water evenly on all sides and skill in making flower carts, the art of cooking, preparing beverages, the art of erecting buildings and related arts making use of skill including testing of gems, horticulture, conjuring, art of disguise and performing wonders, knowledge of omens, training of birds as messengers and to fight for wager and other allied arts, game of obscure-word making, literary arts (comprising composing verses, words and their meaning, knowledge of metrics, knowledge of rules governing composing poems, reading out from a book and the art of communicating syllables), art of memorizing, physical arts, the art of victory and the art of courtesy.[4]

Materials on music and dancing in the Purāṇas :

Vocal music, instrumental music and the dancing style are the three major branches of Indian Fine Arts related to each other. Among the sixty-four arts, music is mentioned as the first one. Besides references to the *Gāndharvavidyā* as one among the eighteen branches of learning, there are references to music in the *Agnipurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Brahmapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, *Nāradapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. In the legend in the *Brahmapurāṇa* describing how music was created out of chaos it is emphasized that correct recital of the musical notes was absolutely essential for maintaining the normal figures of the embodied *rāga*-s and any incorrect recital would mutilate them.[5] The above reference indicates that there was an excellent objective criterion of judging music. The materials in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*[6] are intimately connected with those found in the *Adbhutarāmāyaṇa*.[7] It is in the context of Nārada gaining proficiency in music. One should sing aloud without raising his hand above and directing his look above. One should not sing in darkness or when one is hungry or thirsty or possessed by fright..

Beauty exists in the movements, words, notes and the forms and their configuration.[8] The sixty-four arts are divided into two groups–dancing (*karmādi*) and muscial appliances (*gītādi*).[9] In the section on lexicography the *Agnipurāṇa* refers to the technical terms relating to

4. See *ibid.*
5. See ibid. pp. 18-20.
6. II.3, 60-66
7. See Raghavan, V., *J. of the Music Academy* XIX.i-iv. pp. 203-5.
8. *Agnipurāṇa* 339,46.
9. *Agnipurāṇa* 339,43.

music. While *kākali* is a subtle sound. *kalā* denotes a sweet inexplicable sound, *mandara* is a lofty sound. *tāra* is a very loud sound. If there is resonance and well blending of the last three sounds it is ekatāla. The terms denoting a lute are *vīṇā, vallakī* and *vipañcī*. A musical instrument having seven strings is known as *parivādinī*. While the stringed instruments are spread out, the drums are bound and the wind instruments have holes. A fourth variety is mentioned as that made of the bell-metal. *Dhakkā* or *bherī* or *dundubhi, ānaka* or *paṭaha, jharjharī, ḍiṇḍima, mardala* and *paṇava* are the different kinds of percussion instruments. *Tāla* denotes the measure of time relating to performance. *Laya* denotes the equal proportion of performance and time relating to music and dance. *Tāṇḍavam, nāṭyam, lāsyama* and *nartanam* are given as synonyms. Dance (*nṛtyam*), singing (*gītam*) and instrumental (*vādyam*) are collectively known as triple symphony (*tauryatrikam*).[10]

The different terms associated with dancing are explained. It describes the actions and movements of the limbs. The exertion of the body is considered as the particular gesture relating to the limbs and subordinate limbs and as their action. The twelve kinds of gestures are–sportiveness, playful gesture, cessation (of care in dress etc.), amorous play or movement, amorous agitation consisting of laughter, weeping etc., involuntary expression of affection towards the lover, repulse of lover's caresses, indifference towards a beloved object, that one arising from tenderness, that one affected by emotion, pleasure-giving pastime and amorous sports. The text explains some of these gestures only. Imitation of the gesture of the beloved person in a hidden abode is said to be sportiveness. Exhibition of some peculiarities is stated to be the playful gesture. Combination of laughter, weeping etc. is known as *kilakiñcita*. Some sort of perturbation is known as *bibboka*.

White the hand, chest, side, loin and foot are categorized as the limbs, the creeper-like tender eyebrows and the like are known as minor limbs. The use of the limbs and minor limbs are by means of exertion arising from effort. The movement of the head is done in thirteen ways–trembling, shaking, gentle shaking, violent shaking, excessive movement, agitated, tossed, graceful, contracted, turned round, raised upward, bent downward and rolling. The eyebrows are moved in seven ways such as lowering, knitting etc. The glances are threefold–as related to the sentiments or to the permanent feeling or to the transitory feeling. They fall into thirty-six kinds, among which eight arise from sentiments. The

10. *Agnipurāṇa* 360, 70-76.

pupil functions in nine ways such as moving, rolling and the like. Those pertaining to respiration are nine-fold. The actions of the lower lip are of six kinds, those of the chin seven kinds, those of the face six kinds and those of the neck nine kinds.[11]

The hand is made use of by the character either as unfolded or folded. There are twenty-four ways in the unfolded to represent the figures of banner, lotus bud and the like: Those of the folded hands are of thirteen kinds indicating the pigeon, *svastika*, crab etc. The actions of the chest may be done in five ways such as a little curved, straight etc. The actions of the belly may be done in three ways–not very slender, slender and full. The actions of the sides and shank are each done in five ways. The action of the feet in dance and the like in a drama is manifold.[12]

The *Nāradapurāṇa* stands unique in respect of its treatment of phonetics (Śikṣā), ritual (Kalpa), grammar (Vyākaraṇa), etymology (Nirukta), prosody (Chandas), and astronomy (Jyotiṣa), the six auxiliary texts of the Vedas.[13] The Śikṣā gives the directive regarding the study of the chanting of the Vedas in the proper way, since the mantras chanted with proper intonation alone will be beneficial and the improper recital will be detrimental. The places of articulation of the low, medium and high are the chest, throat and head respectively. The *Nāradapurāṇa* subsequently explains (I.50.30-32) the group of musical notes as comprising the seven musical notes (*svara*-s), three gamuts (*grāma*-s), twenty-one melodies (*mūrchana*-s) and forty-nine protracted tunes (*tāna*-s). It then mentions the colours of the respective notes as that of a lotus leaf, parrot, gold, jasmine flower, dark, yellow and variegated. (I.50.47-48). The notes employed in the Sāman recital sustain all the movable and immovable creatures.

It then makes an interesting reference (I.50.71-73) to the origin of the seven notes from the throat (*kaṇṭha*) (*Sa*), head (*śiraśrī*) (*Ri*), nose (*nāsikā*) (*Ga*), chest (*uras*) (*Ma*), chest, head and throat (*uras, śiras* and *kaṇṭha*) (*Pa*), forehead (*lalāṭa*) (*Dha*) and from all the above conjointly (*Ni*). It also refers to names of these notes identified with the sounds made by the birds and animals–that of peacock is *ṣaḍja*, of cow is *ṛṣabha*, of goat etc.is *gāndhāra*, of curlew is *madhyama*, that of cuckoo in the spring is *pañcama*, that of horse is *dhaivata* and that of an elephant is *niṣāda* (I.50.61-62). It further states that the *ṣaḍja* pleases the gods,

11. *Agnipurāṇa* 341. 1-12.
12. *Agnipurāṇa* 341. 13-20.
13. I. 50-57.

ṛṣabha the sages, *gāndhāra* the manes, *madhyama* the gandharvas, *pañcama* the gods, manes and sages, *dhaivata* all the beings and *niṣāda* the yakṣas (I.50.41-43). It states that the term 'Gāndharva' denotes the singing of songs accompanied by the playing on the musical instruments, since the letter *'ga'* means a song *(geya)*, *'dha'* the proper playing of an artist (*kārupravādana*) and 'va' the musical instruments (*vādya*) (I.50.58). It points out the qualities of a song and explains them. Then it names the fourteen defects of songs and exlains them. (I.50.43-45). It is stated that the preceptors like the even ones, the scholars the distinction of words and other the pitch. Among the musical instruments the text speaks of lute *(Vīṇā)* and flute *(Veṇu)*, classifying the former as wooden *(dāravī)* and corporeal one *(gātravīnā)*, the latter being used in the singing of the sāmans. Explaining the flute it states that the first note of the sāman is considered as the *madhyamasvara* on it.

The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (III. ch.2) states that knowledge of painting is dependent on that of dancing, knowledge of dancing rests on that of instrumental music *(ātodya)* and the science of instrumental music is dependent on that of vocal music *(gīta)*. One who is proficient in the science of vocal music, can master all the rest. The different kinds of vocal music and the names of particular types of vocal music, which are appropriate to the nine sentiments are dealt with in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* (III. ch.18). In the next chapter it classifies and mentions the characteristics of instrumental music *(ātodya)* and describes the use of particular types of instrumental music appropriate to the nine sentiments. These two sections are based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata.[14]

In the section on dancing the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (III. chs. 32-33) names and describes the various positions of the fingers (*mudrā*). It refers to the legend about the origin of dancing from Viṣṇu as an art by which one can imitate the three worlds. It glorifies the use of dancing for worshiping deities and denounces its use for one's livelihood.[15]

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14. See Hazra, R.C., *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* Vol. I. pp. 182-3 and 186.
15. *ibid.*, pp. 187-8.

MAHĀBHĀRATA REPETITIONS* [1]

BY

RAM KARAN SHARMA

[प्राचीनभारतीयसंस्कृतिपरिज्ञानार्थं महाभारतस्याध्ययनमावश्यकमिति प्रसिद्धमेव । अस्ति सादृश्यं महाभारत-वचनानां रामायणपुराणधर्मेशास्त्रवेदवचनैः सह । सादृश्यमिदं विषयीकृत्य केचन ग्रन्थाः प्रणीताः पाश्चात्त्यैर्भारतीयैश्च विद्वद्भिः रेणु-सुकृथन्कर-काणे-बेल्वलकर-हप्किन्स्-दाण्डेकरप्रभृतिभिः ।

महाभारतस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणेन सह महाभारतपादसूच्यपि प्रकाशिता । इमां सूचीमाश्रित्य ग्रन्थान्तरगतानां महाभारतवचनसदृशवचनानाम् अध्ययनमनायासेन कर्तुं शक्यते । पुनरुक्तवचनाध्ययनविषये काचित् पद्धतिरपि चिन्तिता पाश्चात्त्यविद्वद्विशेषेण । इमेन्यूमहोदयेनापि भाषितम्–अस्ति भारते लिखितसाहित्याद् अपि प्राचीनं साहित्यम् । प्राचीनतमं यद् वैदिकं वाङ्मयं खीष्टपूर्वद्वितीयसहस्राब्दीभवम्, तदपि मूलतो वाचिकरचनामयम्, न लिपिबद्धम् । एतद्वाङ्मयगतानां भूयसां पुनरुक्तवचनानां सत्ता मतमिदम् अनुमापयति । ब्लुमफील्डमहोदयकृते 'वैदिकपुनरुक्ति'-नामधेये ग्रन्थेऽपि मतमिदं समर्थितं प्रमाणैः । रामायणे महाभारते च यानि पुनरुक्तवचनानि, तान्यपि वाचिकपरम्परायाः सत्तां विज्ञापयन्ति ।

इदमत्र विज्ञेयं यद् वाचिकपरम्परायां यद् रचितं भवति, तत् परम्पराभेदाद् भिद्यते-यावत्यः परम्पराः तावन्तो ग्रन्था इति । परम्पराभेदादेव महाभारतस्य त्रीणि रूपाणि संजातानि, यानि परिमाणभेदभिन्नानि । महाभारते लिपिबद्धे संजातेऽपि आख्यानानां संयोजनं विहितं परवर्तिनि काले यथासंप्रदायमिति प्रसिद्धमेव ।

निबन्धलेखकेन विरचिते 'महाभारते काव्यतत्त्वम्' इति नामधेये आङ्गलभाषामये शोधनिबन्धे महाभारतपद्यानाम् अलङ्कारगर्भितानां पुनरुक्तिमाश्रित्य विचारो विहितः । महाभारतरामायणादिगतानां पुनरुक्तवचसां न काचित् सूची अद्यापि निर्मितेति दूयते चेतः ।

वाचिकपरम्परारीतेः प्रभावो महाभारतप्रयुक्तोपमाप्रयोगेऽवलोक्यते । तथाहि– 'शीतार्दिता गावः' इत्यर्थका केचित् पुनरुक्तसन्दर्भा इह विचार्यन्ते । महाभारते नवसु स्थलेषु उपमेयं दृश्यते भीष्मपर्वणि द्रोणपर्वणि च । अत्र 'गावः शीतार्दिता इव' 'यथा हि

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* Purāṇa, Vol. XXX, No 1 (January 1988) pp. 10-16

1. The paper was read at the 31st session of the International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa held in Tokyo and Kyoto (Japan), 1983, and reported in its Proceedings.

शैशिरः कालो गवां मर्माणि कृन्तति', 'शिशिरे कम्पमाना वै कृशा गाव इव', 'गावः पङ्कार्दिता इव' इति च वचांसि पठ्यन्ते (प्रथममुदाहरणम् अनेकत्रोक्तम्) । भीष्मपर्वणि स्थलान्तरे 'कृन्तन्ति मम गात्राणि माघमासे गवामिव'इति, शान्तिपर्वणः स्थलान्तरे च 'कुस्त्री खादति मांसानि माघमासे गवामिव'इति च पठ्यते । 'माघमासे गवामिव' 'माघम् आसेगवामिव' 'मागमां सेगवा इव' 'मा सेवगाम् इव' 'माघमां सेगवा इव' इति च पाठा विभिन्नटीकाकृद्भिर्व्याख्याताः ।

संपादकेन बेलवलकरमहोदयेन भीष्मपर्वणि 'माघमासे गवामिव' इत्येव मूलपाठरूपेण दर्शितः, तेनैव पुनः शान्तिपर्वणि 'माघमा सेगवामिव' इति मूलपाठरूपेण निर्धारितः, पांठस्यास्य औचित्यविषये नोक्तं किमपि ।

सदृशवचनसंग्रहात्मकसूचीसाहाय्येन एतादृशस्थले मुख्पाठस्य (अत्र 'माघमासे गवामिवेत्यस्य) निर्णयः कृतुं शक्यते । पुराणादिग्रन्थपाठानामपि निर्णयः पुनरुक्त-वचनाधारेण सुष्ठु कर्तुं शक्यत इति निश्चप्रचम् ।]

It goes without saying that the Mahābhārata represents the most vital connecting link between the Vedic and classical tradition–literary, linguistic, mythological, religious and legal traditions. The wide range of the areas of its absorption and successive flow of transmissions renders this fifth Veda indispensable for a comprehensive insight into the multidimensional ancient Indian cultural tradition.

2. Its[2] textual parallelisms specially with the Rāmāyaṇa, Dharamaśāstras, Purāṇas and even the Vedas have already formed the subject matter of studies with several eminent scholars all over the world. Louis Renou's 'L' Hymne aux Aśvin de 1' Ādiparvan', V.S. Sukthankar's The Rāma Episode (Rāmopākhyāna) and the Rāmāyaṇa' and 'The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa', P. V Kane's 'The Mahābhārata verses and very ancient Dharmaśāstras and other works'. S.K. Belvalkar's 'The Cosmographic Episode in the Mahābhārata and Padmapurāṇa' may specially be metioned in this connection. E.W. Hopkins also lists quite a few parallel passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata representing typical epic similes. The Editor of the Anuśāsana Parvan–Dandekar refers to chapter sixtyfive of the Liṅgapurāṇa in the context of the Śivasahasranāma.

3. Now that the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata along with the pāda Index is available with us, we could very conveniently think of bringing out a complete classified concordance so as to assess and appreciate the elements and magnitude of repetitions in it in terms of C.M.

2. Cf. Introduction to the "Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata", referred to in para 4 of this paper.

Bowra's technique of oral poetic composition and thereby fulfil the intellectual commitments implied in the following remarks made by prof. Emeneau in his learned article "Oral Poets of South India : The Todas" about twenty-five years ago : "Old as is writing in the history of the culture of India in its classical form, there is literature there that is even older than writing. The Vedas, the oldest religious texts of Hinduism, contain in their earliest layers. hymns and other ritual utterances, the beginning of which can be conservatively placed in the second millenium B. C. These texts present clear evidence that they are oral compositions. Perhaps the most striking kind of evidence is the extensive repeated use in the verses, of traditional poetic units. Maurice Bloomfield in his intensive study of the phenomenon in the two volumes called Ṛgveda Repetitions found that in the Ṛgvedic collection of over a thousand hymns, approximately one fifth of the lines are involved in this repetitive use....The Marks of oral composition and of a very early synthesis of numerous oral recitatons into one unified text are clearly evident in both these epics (the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) (as they are in Homer). The tradition of transmittal of the Mahābhārata (and of the Rāmāyaṇa too) even illustrates the postulate that in a living oral tradition and barring special conditions, no two oral recitations of what purports to be the same work are identical but each recitation is a fresh composition. For we are told in the Mahābhārata itself that its length is not always the same (Book I, adhyāya 1) and that the text as we have it is the third recitation in a succession of famous recitations of different lengths. This oral characteristic.... did not come to an end even after the Mahābhārata was written down, perhaps in the 4th century A.D., perhaps somewhat earlier. The copyists have never ceased to add more good, bad or indifferent passages or stories to their versions when they could do so. It is only recognition of the oral technique of composition and its implications that makes it possible to deal with the Sanskrit epic in any but the most fumbling way". [3]

4. The doctoral dissertation entitled "Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata" written out by the writer of this paper under the inspiration and esteemed guidance of Prof. Emeneau and published as Vol. 20 of the University of California Publications in Classical Philology in 1964 represented just a modest beginning of the study of Mahābhārata repetitions in similes and other figures of speech including linkage chiasmus noun-adjective combinations and full verse or pāda repetitions. But the fact remains that no comprehensive Concordance of Mahābhārata

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3. Journal of the American Folklore, LXXI (1958) pp. 313-4.

repetitions has yet been undertaken. The purpose of the present paper is to draw the attention of scholars to the problem of a comprehensive and classified presentåtion of Mahābhārata repetitions followed by a similar concordance of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, culminating in the Encyclopaedia of Poetic Formulae in the Great Epics and Purāṇas.[4]

5. On the basis of the preliminary studies referred to above and some other learned papers on the subject (e.g. Emenean's Bhagavadgītā Notes) we find that the oral technique of poetic composition reflects itself in the Great Epics in the repetitions of various types including similes and

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4. Repetitions (more or less verbatim passages) are so numerous in the Purāṇas that they may rightly be regarded as one of the characteristics of Puranic composition. There repetitions may be broadly divided into three classes :

(A) Passages occurring in the Purāṇas and the Epics. As for example the Yayāticarita is found in MB. Ādi-p. 76-93 and in Matsya-p. 25-42; chapters dealing with Narasiṁha etc. In Harivaṁśa-p. Bhaviṣya 41-45 are found in Matsya-p. 161-163; a few chapters on Sāṁkhyayoga in Śānti-p. are found in the last part of the Brahmapurāṇa in the dialogue of Vyāsa and the sages; most of the chapters on the life of Kṛṣṇa in the Vishnu Parvan of Harivaṁśa are found in the Viṣṇu-p. (Sec. V) and the Brahma-p. (180-212); chapters on creation in Śānti-p. (182-183) are found in the Nāradīya-p. (I. 42-45).

(B) Passages occurring in more than one Purāṇa. As for example the chapters on Puruṣottama-māhātmya in Brahma-p. (41-51) are found in the Puruṣottamamāhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. Matsya-p. chapters on Tārakāsura, Śiva's marriage, the birth of Kārttikeya etc. (154-178) are found in Padma-p. 5. 37-42 (in a slightly condensed form); the chapters on the Khāṇḍikya-Keśidvaja-Janaka episode in Viṣnu-p. vi. 6-7 are found in Nāradīya-p I. 46-47; the Bhāgavata passages on Viṣṇu's incarnations (1,3. 6-26) are found in Garuḍa I. 1. 14-34. The chapters on Vaṁsa and bhuvanakośa are the capital examples of this class as is known to the students of ancient Indian history and geography.

(C) Passages occurring in the same Purāṇa. As for example a description of trividhā bhakti is found in both the Avantīkhaṇḍa (7. 40-29) and the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa (10.7.2-16) of the Skanda-purāṇa and also in th Padma Purāṇa (see IV. 85. 4-24 and V.15. 176-192.)

All these repeated passages occur in the chapters that are in dialogue form. It is remarkable to note that the names of speaker and hearer often vary in different Purāṇas, a fact which sometimes affords a clue in determing the chronological position of these chapters.

Besides these repetitions of śabda (passages), there are repetitions of *artha* (subjects, themes) in the Purāṇas, which are not of much importance in the field of textual criticism. Sometimes such repetitions are found in the same Purāṇa (as e. g. there is a repetition of the Vāmana legend in the Vāmana-purāṇa; see 23. 1. 31-97 and 73. 1-95. 84); the problem which deserves to be studied seriously.

metaphors, linkage or concatenation, chiasmus, noun-adjective combinations, vocatives, the whole pāda of verse with or without modifications, formulaic passages or parts thereof found in other texts. Unlike the written poetic composition like later Kāvya literature, the oral tradition as represented in the Epics necessitates a critical examination of the repeated material as a whole rather than one single verse taken as a separate isolated unit for a proper textual appreciation.

6. For example, one of the repeated items of the Mahābhārata imagery is the "cattle afflicted with cold" which symbolises the weakness or bewilderment.

The following nine passages from the battle scenes of the Bhīṣma and Droṇa Parvans involved in the repeated use of this simile may be referred to :–

वीक्षां चक्रुः समन्तात्ते पाण्डवा भयपीडिताः ।
त्रातारं नाध्यगच्छन्त गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 6.45.58

यथा हि शैशिरः कालो गवां मर्माणि कृन्तति ।
तथा पाण्डुसुतानां वै भीष्मो मर्माण्यकृन्तत ॥ 6.113.7
तत्कर्म प्रेक्ष्य बीभत्सोरतिमानुषमद्भुतम् ।
संप्रावेपन्त कुरवो गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 6.116.26
तस्य हर्षप्रणादेन बाणवेगेन च विभो ।
प्राकम्पन्त रणे योद्धा गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 7.7.117
तत्सैन्यमिषुभिस्तेन वध्यमानं समन्ततः ।
बभ्राम तत्र तत्रैव गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 7.96.26
ते वध्यमाना द्रोणेन शक्रेणेव महासुराः ।
समकम्पन्त पाञ्चाला गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 7.101.47
मन्येऽहं पाण्डवान् सर्वान् भरद्वाजशरार्दितान् ।
शिशिरे कम्पमाना वै कृशा गाव इवाभिभो ॥ 7.130.6.
ततस्ते व्याकुलीभूता राजानः कर्णपीडिताः ।
बभ्रमुस्तत्र तत्रैव गावः शीतार्दिता इव ॥ 7.134.25
त्रातारं नाध्यगच्छन्त गावः पङ्कगता इव ।
पिपीलिका इव क्षुण्णा दुर्बला बलिना रणे ॥ 6.102.76

7. It will be seen that out of the nine passages cited above, eight passages have 'cold-afflicted cattle' imagery with the repetition of a full pāda as '*gāvaḥ śītārditā iva*' in the six of them; "trembling with cold/fear/bewilderment/running here and there" also forms part of the imagery, besides the 'piercing in the vitals of the body' (*marmāṇi*).

8. Now let us look at the following two passages–one in the Bhīṣmaparvan and the other in the Śāntiparvan–with a repeated poetic

unit 'māghamāse gavām iva' constituting the second and fourth pādas respectively :

(i) कृन्तन्ति मम गात्राणि माघमासे गवामिव ।
अर्जुनस्य इमे बाणा नेमे बाणाः शिखण्डिनः ॥ 6.114.60

These arrows, not of Śikhaṇḍin, but of Arjuna, pierce my (Bhīṣma's) limbs, as the cold pierces the vitals of a cattle in the month of Māgha (Winter).

(ii) गृहस्नेहावबद्धानां नराणामल्पमेधसाम् ।
कुस्त्री खादति मांसानि [माघमासे गवाम्] इव[5] ॥ 12.137.85

An evil wife eats up the flesh of men of small intelligence who are captivated by domestic affection as the cold pierces the vitals of cattle in the month of Māgha (Winter).

9. It may be noted that the learned Editor–Belvalkar– accepted the obvious reading *māghamāse gavām iva*, though with a wavy line for the Bhīṣmaparvan passage while the reading accepted for Śāntiparvan passage is different with a different arrangement as *māghamāsegavām iva*.

10. In the footnote and the corresponding critical note under the Bhīṣmaparvan passage, the Editor quoted the views of the commentators Devabodha, Arjunamiśra and Vādirāja and also discussed the textual problem as follows :

A. Footnote

(i) Devabodha–अर्जुनम्य धवलस्य चन्द्रम्येति यावत् । वर्णन्ति शब्दं कुर्वन्ति वणाः सलिलानि तेषामिमे विकारा बाणाः शरीराणि माघमासे शिशिरर्तुप्रथमभागे गवां सूर्यरश्मीनां गायत्रीव गात्राणि शरीरावयवान्....कृन्तन्ति छिन्दन्ति ।....अत्र चेदं विवक्षितम् । यथा सूर्यरश्मीनां कारणभूतानां कार्यरश्मिभिश्चन्द्ररश्मिभिः कर्तनम् । कार्यत्वं च रश्मीनां सूर्यरश्मीनामेव चन्द्रे अनुप्रवेशात् । तथा द्रोणाद्यध्यापकद्वारेण ग्राहितैरस्मत्कार्यभूतैरर्जुनवाणैरस्मत्कार्यभूतैरस्मन्मर्मणां कारणभूतानां छेदनम् । अथवा वर्णान्त शब्दान् कुर्वन्तीति वाणाः पुत्राः । आसेगवां [वां] कर्कटानां गात्रं कृन्तन्ति। माघं मघाभावो यथा भवन्ति [ति] । कर्कटानां मघाभावस्तिर्यकृत्वात् । अर्जुनम्य तु युद्धे नाततायिवधस्य विहितत्वात् ।

(ii) Arjunamiśra: माघमा वृश्चिकी प्रोक्ता तदपत्यानि सेगवा । यथा माघमां वृश्चिकीं यथा तदपत्यानि सेगवा वृश्चिकीं मातरं कृन्तन्ति । उदरस्थान्यपत्यानि पृष्ठं विदार्य बहिर्निर्गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ।

(iii) Vādirāja–माघमा सेगवां स्वमातृभूतां कर्कटीमिव । सेगवा कर्कटीसन्ततिः स्वमातृपृष्ठमेव निर्भिद्य जायत इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

[The Editor left Nīlakaṇṭha out of discussion. Nīlakaṇṭha's version, however, is : "*māghamāṁ karkaṭīṁ segavās tada patyāni] Karkaṭyā nāśahetur garbha eveti prasiddham*]

5. [ ] arrangement mine.

B. Critical note

"For Śāntiparvan passage....12.137.85 (B. māghamā segavāiva) the commentator's explanation is correct, but as the piercing effect of the autum on the vital parts of the cow is a constantly repeated idea in the epic (cf. 6. 113.7) we need not reject the obvious interpretation."

So the Editor accepted the obvious reading māghamāse gavām iva in the Bhīṣmaparvan passage, in spite of numerous selfcontradictory speculative interpretations by commentators such as *māghamā segavām iva, māghamāse gavā iva, māghamā segavām iva, māghamāṁ segavā iva*. The obvious reading has also the support from Devabodha, the oldest available commentator, partly at least.

12. But the same Editor while readling with the relevant Śāntiparvan passage (the fascicule containing this passage came out three years later in 1950), in spite of his unequivocal verdict in favour of the obvious correct reading corroborated by the repeated use of this poetic formula in the text, accepted Vādirāja's reading *māghamāsegavām* iva–that too without any footnote or explanatory note or even a cross reference.

13. This is just one example where grammatical or other considerations stand in the way of textual interpretations in the absence of a classified concordance.

14. It is the identification of the minimal poetic units in the great Epics that will facilitate a correct textual, linguistic, literary, philosophical, historical or comparative apprisal of Indian tradition. This will also help us in determing the common core and distinctive feature, not only of the two epics but also of the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra and other classical texts.

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HOME OF THE MATSYAPURĀṆA† *

BY

S. G. KANTAWALA

[अत्र लेखे मत्स्यपुराणस्य रचनास्थलं विचार्यते । मत्स्यपुराणं दक्षिणभारते रचितमिति दीक्षितारमहोदयस्य मतम्, आन्ध्रप्रदेशे रचितमिति पार्जिटरमहोदयस्य कथनम्, नासिकप्रदेशे रचितमिति च हाजरामहोदयेन प्रतिपादितम् । विदुषा लेखकेनात्र सर्वेषामेतेषां मतानां सन्यगालोचना कृता । हाजरामहोदयस्यैव मतं लेखकस्यापि सम्मतमस्ति, यतो मत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदाया नर्मदाक्षेत्रस्य च माहात्म्यं बाहुल्येनोपलभ्यते, गङ्गामाहात्म्यादपि नर्मदाया माहात्म्यमधिकमिति च प्रतिपाद्यते । नर्मदाप्रदेशस्य सम्यक् परिचयोऽप्यत्रोपलभ्यते । ओंकारेश्वरसमीपवर्तिनो नर्मदाकावेरीसंगमस्योल्लेखः, नर्मदायाश्चोत्तरतटे वर्तमानस्य भारभूतिसमीपवर्तिनो दशाश्वमेधतीर्थस्य वर्णनं, तथाऽन्येषामपि केषांचिद् नर्मदातटवर्त्तिस्थानानां कथनं मत्स्यपुराणरचयितुर्नर्मदाप्रदेशपरिचयं सूचयति, येन मत्स्यपुराणस्य रचनायाः स्थानं नर्मदाप्रदेशमेवेति सिध्यति ।]

Regarding the place of the composition of the MP there is no unanimity of opinion. South India, Nāsik and the Narmadā Valley are claimed as the home of the MP by different scholars. The late Professor V. R. R. Dikshitar expressed the opinion that it "might have originated in Sough India",[1] on the assumption that the MP originally started with the Matsya tribe who inhabited the Matsya country. To this it is to be submitted with due deference to the late Professor's view that the M P sings nothing of the Matsya tribe. Moreover, the Matsya country corresponds to the modern territory of Jaipur.[2] "It included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpura the capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagar (modern Bairat) named after its founder-king Virāṭa.... A branch of the Matsyas is similarly found in later days in the Vizagapatam region"[3]. From this it is clear that in the subcontinent of India there were two territories–one in North India and the second in South

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†. Purāṇa, Vol. III, No 1 (January 1961) pp. 115-119

*. A part of the Ph. D. thesis accepted by the M. S. University of Baroda.

1. Dikshitar V. R. R., *The Matsya Purāṇa. A Study*. p. 24.
2. Dikshitar V. R. R. *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.
3. Majumdar R. C. and Pusalker A. D. (Ed), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp 11.12.

India–which went by the name of the Matsya country. It is to be noted that the late Professor is aware of these two locations of this country.[1] In the face of these facts that the Matsya country claims two locations for its identification, it is of dubious value to give weightage to its identification in South India on such grounds that the Fish appeared to Manu performing austerities on the Malaya hills (1.12) and the places like Rāmeśvara are mentioned in the MP. It is to be remembered that the places like Rāmeśvara are of an-Indian fame and it is but natural that those places find a mention in the MP. According to the ŚB 1.8.1.5 and the Mbh. (Cr. Ed) 8.185.44 the place of deluge is the Himalaya and the mention of the Malaya hills would, at the most, suggest that the attempt is made to shift the North Indian place of penance to South India, but even according to the MP 1.24 the place of scene shifts to the Ganges, a renowned river of North India. Thus South India is not a convincing contender for the home of the MP.[2]

The Andhra country apears to be suggested as the home of the MP by Pargiter, when he writes (of course in a different context) that "there is an apparent indication that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the 2nd century in the Andhra king Yajñaśrī's, reign, for 5 Mss of the Matsya of which three appear to be independent, namely *b, c* and *I)* speak of him as reigning in his ninth or tenth year."[3]

Dr. Haraprasad Shastri suggests that the place of the composition of the MP was Nasik on the strength of the great prominence given to the region about the river Godāvarī in the MP 114.37.39,[4] but as pointed out by Dr. R. C. Hazra, "this suggestion seems to have a very weak basis, for these verses of the Matsya tally with Vā (=Vāyu Purāṇa) 45. 112.114 and it has been shown that the Matsya borrowed some chapters from the Vāyu. The close agreement of the majority of the geographical chapters in

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1. Dikshitar V. R. R., op. cit, p. 20-21.
2. For detailed arguments of Dikhitar V. R. R., vide *ibid*, pp 19 ff. The detailed refutation of his arguments is not undertaken here as the view is unconvincing for obvious reasons.
3. Pargiter F. E. *Purāṇic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction. p. xiii f fn. 1.
4. Shastri Harprasad, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanakrit MSS in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (Purāṇa MSS). Preface. p. xc.

the two Purāṇas seems to confirm the indebtedness of the Matsya to Vāyu".[1]

Dr. R. C. Hazrā holds that the MP "was composed and circulated by Vaiṣṇa vaite peolpe living somewhere about the river Narmadā"[2] by arguing that when the indebtedness of the MP to the VP (=Vāyu Purāṇa) seems to be confirmed by the close agreement of the majority of the geograhical chapters, one has "to look to those of its original chapters which have not been borrowed from any other work. Such an one is Cha. 2, In it the river Narmadā and not the famous Ganges, is said to remain even after the destruction of the world (cf. Mat. 2, 13.14): Elsewhere, in chap. 15 (which most probably belongs to a little later date and which has a few verses common with Vā 73), this river "which flows through the Deccan" is called the 'mind-born daughter' of the Somapa Pitṛs living in the Mānasaloka (cf. 15, 25-28)".[3] Thus according to him these passages tend to suggest that the composition of the MP took place somewher about the river Narmadā.

A M. T. Jackson also opines that the MP may represent the original version of the work of the Brahmins on the Narmadā.[4] On the ground of the long list of place-names etc. on the Narmadā. Ram Pratap Tripathi also opines that the original bard-reciter had special connections with the Narmadā-valley region.[5]

Over and above the stray references eulogising the glory of the Narmadā there are nine chapters i.e. chapters 186-194 extolling the greatness of the Narmadā. These chapters betray good acquaintance of the place-names on or near the Narmadā-valley as well as that of the names of the distributaries and tributaries, e. g. the confluence of a rivulet Kāverī with the Narmadā near Oṃkāreśvara in the Madhya Pradesh is also mentioned in the MP (189.2 ff). This mention of their confluence is only possible if the compiler had good acquaintance of the Narmadā region otherwise it would be silly on his part to speak of the confluence of the Kāverī of South India with the Narmadā. Among the minor place-

1. Hazra R. C.. *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on* Hindu *Rites and Customs*, . 52.
2. Hazra R. C., *op. cit.*, p 52.
3. Hazra R. C., *op. cit.*, p 52.
4. Jackson A. M. T., *Epic and Puāṇic Notes, the Centenary Volume of the JBBRS* (1905) p. 73.
5. Tripathi, Ram Pratap, *Matsya Mahā-purāṇa (Hindi Translation)*. Introduction, p. 5.

names, mention may be made of Daśāśvamedha (193.21 ff), a sacred bathing place at Broach, Bhārabhūti (194.18), modern Bhāḍabhūta on the northern bank of the Narmadā, 8 miles away from Broach, Koṭitīrtha (191.7), which possibly refers to Koṭitīrtha in Motī Koral.[1]

This tends to substantiate Dr. Hazra's vew *viz.* the Narmadā-region as the home of the MP. Moreover the further studies of the place-names and the geographical data of the chapters on the *Narmadā-māhātmya* seem further to corroborate the above opinion.[2] Secondly Dr. V. Raghavan also suggests the Narmadā-region as the place of the composition of the present purāṇa, when he writes, "In II. 13, Narmadā is mentioned as the only river that will last through the deluge which may give a clue to the place where the present text was composed".[3]

In the light of the above evidence, the Narmadā-region may be provisionally accepted as the place of composition of the Matsya-Purāṇa.

Abbreviations used in this Paper –

MP=Matsya. Purāṇa, Ānandaśrama Press edition.

SB=Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Mbh=Mahābhārata.

Cr. Ed=Critical Edition.

The unspecified references such as 191.7 always refer to the Matsya. Purāṇa, thus 191.7=MP 191.7.

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1. See my paper on "the place-Names on the Narmadā with special reference to the Narmadā-māhātmya of the Matsyapurāṇa" read on 20.8.1960 before the Gujarāta-Sthala-nāma-Saṁsad of the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.
2. *Tirthāṅka (Kalyāṇa)* p. 433.
3. Raghavan V., Gleanings from the Matsya-purāṇa, *Purāṇa* Vol. I, No. I, July 1959, p. 85.86.

PLACES OF PURĀṆIC RECITATION ACCORDING TO THE PURĀṆA-S*

BY

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[कस्मिन् स्थाने कानि पुराणानि रचितानि अस्य निर्देशः पुराणेषु प्राप्यते । कानिचित् पुराणानि नैमिषारण्ये रचितानि कानिचित् कुरुक्षेत्रादिस्थानेषु । अत्र लेखकेन प्रतिपादितं यत् पुराणानां परम्परा स्थानानुसारतो भिन्नाऽऽसीत् । स्थानानां महत्त्वमपि पुराणानां रचनानुसारतो भिन्नमासीत् ।]

The present note studies the purāṇic statements about the places of purāṇic recitation and recitation means, throughout this note, the first narration of a *purāṇa* or part thereof. It does not aim, therefore, at finding out where the single *purāṇa*-s, or parts thereof, have been compiled or composed. Such a research on the purāṇic statements is useful because purāṇic tradition has its own value which is worth attentive consideration. What the *purāṇa*-s say about themselves, indeed, should be studied prior to any further investigation on them. I our case, moreover, it will become immediately apparent that the places of purāṇic recitation indicated by the *purāṇa*-s, are something more than a mere geographical or topographical problem. They tend, rather, along with many other points, to form the structure or inner logic of the *purāṇa*-s themselves. They deserve therefore a thoughtful and careful examination.

The following table shows the places where the *purāṇa*-s claim to have been narrated[1] :

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* Purāna Vol XXIII No 1 (January 1981) pp. 48-61

1. The exact refereces are :
Agni (ASS) 1.2 (Naimiṣa); 1.6 *(Badarīkāśrama)*–Kūrma (Crit. ED.) II. 44. 142 *(Gaṅgādvāra)*–Garuḍa (Jīvānanda) 1.3 (Naimiṣa); 2.2 (Badarīkāśrama); 2.10 (Kailāśa)–Devī Bhāgavata (Mor. Ed.) I. 2.27 *(Naimiṣa)*–Nārada (Veṇk.) I. 1.3 cf. 28 *(Naimiṣa)*; I. 1.15,24, *(Siddhāśrama)*–Padma (ASS) I. 1.6 and V.1.10 *(Naimiṣa)*; V. 2.44 *(Prayāga)*; V. 1.47, 65 *(Gaṅgādvāra)* V. 16.5 *(Puṣkara)*–Brahma (Mor Ed.) 1.3 *(Naimiṣa)*–Brahmāṇḍa (Veṅk.) I. 1.17 *(Kurukṣetra)*; cf. I. 1.37 *(Naimiṣīya)*–Brahmavaivarta (Jīvānanda) I. 1.1

	Naimiṣa	Kurukṣetra	Himālaya	Puṣkara	Various
Agni	×		$\times^1$		
Kūrma			$\times^4$		
Garuḍa	×		$\times^4$		$\times^6$
Devī Bhāgavata	×				
Nārada	×		$\times^2$		
Padma	×		$\times^4,\times^5$	×	
Brahma	×				
Brahmāṇḍa	×	×			
Brahmavaivarta			$\times^2,\times^3$	×	$\times^7$
Bhāgavata	×				
Matsya	×				
Liṅga	×				
Vāyu		×			
Śiva			$\times^5$		
Skanda	×	×	$\times^3$		$\times^6$

$\times^1$= Badarīkāśrama; $\times^2$= Siddhāśrama; $\times^3$= Jāhnaītaṭe (Gaṅgā); $\times^4$= Gaṅgādvāra; $\times^5$= Prayāga; $\times^6$= Kailāśa; $\times^7$= Goloka.

Among the twenty *purāṇa*-s examined to prepare the table, including both *Śiva* and *Vāyu purāṇa*-s as well as the *Devi Bhāgavata* only fifteen mention the place of purāṇic recitation; out of which six, at least, name more than one place of narration. This fact, by itself, would already imply that the *purāṇa*-s do not aim at introducing one-place tradition but that they claim to have been narrated in different parts of the country by different persons to different listeners. Although Naimiṣāraṇya is introduced as place of recitation by not less than ten *purāṇa*-s, yet it is far from being the only one. There are *purāṇa*-s, indeed, which affirm to have been narrated in three or four places subsequently.

(Naimiṣa); I. 1. 60-63 (*Goloka, Puṣkara*, Jāhnavītaṭe, *Siddhakṣetra*)–Bhāgavata (Gitā Press) I. 1.4 (*Naimiṣa)*–Matsya (Veṅk.) 1.2 (Naimiṣāraṇyavāsinaḥ)–Liṅga (Veṅk) I. 1.4.8 *(Naimisa)*–Vāyu (Veṅk.) I. 1.11 *(Kurukṣetra)*; they are called *Naimiṣāraṇyagocara* in I. 1.12 and *Naimiṣīya* in I.1.41.–Śiva (Veṅk.) I. 1.1 *(Prayāga)*–Skanda (Veṅk) I. 1.12; II. 1.1 etc. *(Naimiṣa)*; II.1.1.7 *(Jāhnavītaṭe)* ; II. 8.1.8 *(Kurukṣetra)*; VII. 1.27; VII 3.4 *(Kailāśa)*. The editions of the *purāṇa*-s mentioned in this list will be used also in the body of the article.

Even a cursory reading of the *adhyāya*-s dealing with the topic studied here reveals that the place of narration changes with the change of generation. The *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa* (I. 1. 59 ff), for instance, explains that Kṛṣṇa gave the *purāṇa* to Brahmā in Goloka, Brahmā transmitted it to Dharma at Puṣkara and Dharma to his son Nārāyaṇa; this latter handed it over to Nārada, and Nārada on his turn gave it to Vyāsa on the river Gaṅgā. Vyāsa, having arranged it, forwarded it to Sauti at Siddhakṣetra. This statement implies, then, that the place of narration has its relevance in relation to different generations. it, moreover, suggests that each place constitutes a kind of purāṇic layer which has a bearing on purāṇic recitation. In other words, the above statement reveals that the very fact of being proclaimed at Puṣkara, for instance, or at Siddhakṣetra or at Naimiṣa means that a *purāṇa* has taken different shapes in those different places. *Nārada P.* II. 63.31 says :

नैमिषे विष्णुसारूप्यं पुष्करे ब्रह्मणेऽन्तिकम् ।
आखण्डलस्य लोको हि कुरुक्षेत्रे च माघतः ॥

'By bathing during the month of Māgha at Naimiṣa is obtained identity of form with Viṣṇu, at Puṣkara closeness to Brahmā and at Kurukṣetra. indeed, Indra's heaven'.

Just as a dip at the places mentioned in the *śloka* gives a particular merit to the bather, so analogically, each place of purāṇic recitation gives the *purāṇa*-s its own perculiar imprint and trend. *Nārada* P. II 38-20. gives a hint for understanding the above table.

कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां पुष्करं परम् ।
द्वापरे तु कुरुक्षेत्रं कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते ॥

In Kṛta *yuga* all the *tīrtha*-s excell, in Tretā *yuga* Puṣkara, in Dvāpara *yuga* Kurukṣetra, in Kali *yuga* the Gaṅgā.'

This *śloka* suggests that *tīrtha*-s get different importance in different *yuga*-s. Much in the same way the tradition relating the *purāṇa*-s to different places puts them in relation also with different *yuga*-s. An example of this influence of *yuga*-s on the *purāṇa*-s can be seen in *Padma P.* II. 125. 38-45. The *Padma purāṇa*, it is said in this passage, had one hundred thousand *śloka*-s in Kṛta *yuga*, fifthy-two thousand in Tretā, twenty-two thousand in Dvāpara, twelve thousand in Kali yugā. And

even these last twelve thousand *śloka*-s will disappear at the end of Kali *yuga* and the first number, one hundred thousand, will appear again. The influence of *yuga*-s is expressed in terms of length, but its repercussion also on content is not improbable, although the same purāṇa affirms that the meaning in the four forms the *purāṇa* assumes is only one[2]. The fact that Naimiṣa is the pre-eminent place of purāṇic narration, then, implies not only that the *purāṇa*-s have been told mainly in a particular place which gave its own peculiar imprint to them but also that they have been narrated in a particular *yuga*. This *yuga* is Kali, as it is often affirmed[3]. Just to face Kali *yuga*'s negative influences the *ṛṣi*-s in fact gather at Naimiṣa :

कलिमागतमाज्ञाय क्षेत्रेऽस्मिन् वैष्णवे वयम् ।
आसीना दीर्घसत्रेण कथायां सक्षणा हरेः ।।

(*Bhāgavata P.* I. 1.21)

'Knowing that Kali *yuga* has come, we sit in this Vaiṣṇava place for a long sacrifice, having leisure for the story of Hari'.

This lets us suppose that in other *yuga*-s the *purāṇa*-s had other trends derived from the peculiar needs of that age and from the different place of their narration. *Purāṇa*-s indeed seem to have changed their purpose during their evolution[4]. It is enough to compare this *śloka* of the *Nārada purāṇa* (I. 92.22) :

पुराणमेकमेवासीत् सर्वकल्पेषु मानद ।
चतुर्वर्गस्य बीजं च शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ।।

'O honour-giver, *in all the ages* Puraṇa was one, seed of *the four aims of life*, extending to one hundred crores of *śloka*-s'.

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2. एकोऽर्थश्चैकभावश्च चतुर्ष्वपि प्रवर्तितः । संहितास्वपि विप्रेन्द्राः शेषाख्यानप्रविस्तरः ।। (*śl* 14)

3. See *Bhāgavata* P. I 1.21; *Śiva* P. I. 1.12 etc. To be more accurate we could say that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana is active during the *sandhyā*-s of Dvāpara and Kali *yuga*-s.

4. H.P. Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Purāṇa Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1928 (Preface) p. LXXVII, writes : "(The Purāṇa-s) gradually assumed, from the form of historical to the form of religious works."

with the one from the *Skanda puraṇa* (Rvā, I. 24cd-25ab) :

पुराणमेकमेवासीत् कल्पान्तरे मुने ॥ 24cd ॥
त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥ 25ab ॥

> 'O muni, at the end of this age, purāṇa was one, sacred means for *the three aims of life*, extending to one hudred crores of *śloka*'s[5].

This suggests, once again, that each age gave its imprint to the *purāṇa*-s. The importance acquired by Naimiṣāraṇya in Kali *yuga* overshadowed all the other places, which are mentioned only irregularly. This seems to match with what the *purāṇa*-s think of purāṇic evolution, namely that ancient pre-Kali *yuga* traditions were absorbed into the new stream which developed at Naimiṣa. Although absorbed, however, they left traces behind. So, for instance, according to *Skanda* P. II. 8.1.8 Romaharṣaṇa tells the *kathā* to Śaunaka and the *ṛṣi*-s at Kurukṣetra, while according to the same *Skanda* P. II. 1.1.1, he would have told it at Naimiṣa[6]. The inconsistency is easily dissolved if we keep in mind what we have just mentioned, namely, that each place of narration is considered as having an impact on purāṇic evolution and that traces of such an impact are still visible in the actual purāṇic texts.

The *purāṇa*-s are rather in concord in affirming that Sūta went to Naimiṣāraṇya where *ṛṣi*-s, gathered for a twelve-year-long sacrifice, requested him to narrate *kathā*-s. Sūta had received the purāṇic tradition from Vyāsa (Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana) in another place, which is Badarīkāśrama for *Agni* (I.1) and *Garuḍa* (2.29), the bank of the Gangā for *Brahmavaivarta* (I.1.62) and *Skanda* (II.1.7) etc. Sūta, then, and perhaps already Vyāsa, by narrating the *purāṇa*-s on that occasion would have transformed the purāṇic tradition, adapting it to the new *yuga* which

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5. This *śloka* is available in other *purāṇa*-s too in this form; see *Matsya* P. 534.; *Skanda* P. VII. 1.2.18 etc.

6. Note that II 1.1.1 ff, although putting the recitation at the usual place of Naimiṣa, is indeed referring most probably only to the Veṅkatācala *māhātmya*. II. 8.1.1 ff has, instead, a large bearing and reproduces, with modifications, *Padma P.* I. 1.2ff but while for the *Padma* the recitation took place at Naimiṣa, for the *Skanda* it was held at Kurukṣetra.

had just begun. All this, moreover, matches also with the Purāṇic theory of reduction to four hundred thousand *śloka*-s done by Vyāsa of the huge number of them hidden in, or narrated by, Brahmā and even now still available in *devaloka*[7]. Such a theory seems to suggest that Naimiṣa, the place where Vyāṣa's disciple Sūta narrates the *purāṇa-s*, signifies, in the purāṇic evolution, the place where all the precedent layers have been gathered, and systematized. Vyāsa would have begun the process, Sūta would have continued it by making Naimiṣāraṇya the seat of *purāṇa-s*, the converging point of all the previous traditions. This is expressed by *padma purāṇa* (I. 1.2ff), which describes *ṛṣi-s* and *muni-s* converging at Naimiṣa from different places for preparing a sacrifice and hearing purāṇic *kathā-s.*[8] The *purāṇa-s,* therefore, by naming the place where they had been narrated or re-narrated want to suggest mainly that place they mention describes a moment of purāṇic evolution rather than a topographical spot. We can even easily realize that, once Naimiṣa had become important in the purāṇic arrangement as the place-layer of purāṇic recitation at the beginning of Kali *yuga*, it became a must for purāṇic compilers to put any recitation of *purāṇa-s* at Naimiṣa, even if the tradition of a particular *purāṇa* was linked to another place.[9] This purāṇic attitude towards the place of their recitation leaves room for further investigation about the actual geographical spot of their compilation. It is not difficult, indeed, to realize that what the *purāṇa-ṣ* say about the place of narration and the geographical area in which we have to suppose they were actually writen do not coincide. So, for instance, while Baladeva Upadhyaya,[10] by analysing the purāṇic data concludes that the *Matsya purāṇa* was written on the river Narmadā and the *Garuḍa purāṇa* in the Mithilā region, the Matsya *purāṇa* itself claims to have been narrated at Naimiṣa and *Garuḍa* at Badarikāśrama.[11] This

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7. See *Nārada* P. I. 92.22 ff.; *Matsya* P. 53.4.10,27-58; *Skanda P.* VII. 1.2.18ff.

8. The same thing is repeated in *Skanda* P. II. 8.1.1ff, as we have seen, but there the *ṛṣi-s* and *muni-s* go to Kurukṣetra. Further it will appear that in fact Naimiṣa and Kurukṣetra represent two aspects of the same purāṇic layer.

9. See the article 'Dynamic Canon of the Purāṇa-s' in *purāṇa*, Vārāṇasī, XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 126ff.

10. *Purāṇa* Vimarśa, Vārāṇasī, 1965, pp. 564-70.

11. See references above, fn. 1

discrepancy, which can be found also in several other cases is analogue to the other one regarding the purāṇic authors. I mention it here because I consider it useful for understanding what we are studying. Vyāsa, Sūta and other famous *ṛṣi-s* and *muni-s* are repeatedly said in the *purāṇa-s* to be the narrators of purāṇic stories. But in fact, at the beginning of some *purṇa-s,* [12] we do not find immediately Vyāsa, sūta or any of the *ṛṣi-s* or *muni-s* but other authors who introduce them and who cannot be identified with anyone of them. Such authors speak boldly in the first person. We may suppose that they are learned *brāhmaṇa-s* who take over the duty of Vyāsa or Sūūta in their own country. There were surely many Vyāsa-s and Sūta-s in each important place[13]. They do not reveal their name or place of origin because *purāṇa-s* are not products of private invention basically but, according to the *purāṇa-s* themselves, they are the result of previous *yuga-s* reduced to their actual shape mostly at Naimiṣa. These anonymous authors, however, while introducing Vyāsa's and Sūta's stories (i. e. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana's and Romaharṣaṇa's *kathā-s)* inadvertently let details of their own place and time slip into their accounts. From these details that crept in we can deduce where the different *purāṇa-s* were compiled, while from the ancient stories narrated we can deduce the traditional place of recitation. What has been said for the narrators can apply to places of narration also. In fact, the place of actual compilation and the place of ancient recitation do not necessarily coincide. The above mentioned discrepancy is, therefore, only apparent. From what we have seen, then, we come to the same conclusion reached before, namely that the traditional places of purāṇic recitation mentioned in the *purāṇa-s* do not refer necessarily to the actual geographical spots where they were written. Whether in fact such traditional spots as indicated in the *purāṇa-s* were really meant to be the places where the *purāṇas* had been narrated in ancient times is what is going to attract our attention now.

We can put the question in this way; by mentioning the places of purāṇic recitation do the *purāṇa-s* intend that those were the spots where the *purāṇa-s* had really been recited? We have a means in the *purāṇa-s* themselves to check their statements. They affirm to have been recited at Naimiṣa, Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, Badarikāśrama, Siddhāśrama,

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12. See, for instance, *Kūrma* P. I. 1.1.ff.

13. *Purāṇa-s* mention repeatedly Sūta-s, Magadha-s etc.

Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and Puṣkara. Now, the *purāṇa-s* contain the *māhātmya-s* of all those places[14] But, unexpected as it might be, in none of them there is any mention of purāṇic recitation held in those places except in Naimiṣāraṇya. The authors of the purāṇic *māhātmya-s* seem to be blissfully unaware of an event which should have been of interest to them and of great relevance for the places they were celebrating in the *māhātmya*.

The *Naimiṣa māhālmya* of the *Kūrma purāṇa* is the only *māhātmya* giving a clear information about the recitation of a *purāṇa*.

अत्र पूर्वं स भगवानृषीणां सत्रमासताम् ।
प्रोवाच वायुर्ब्रह्माण्डं पुराणं ब्रह्मभाषितम् ॥

(*Kūrma* P. II. 41.13)

'Here in ancient times the Lord Vāyu spoke out in front of the *ṛṣi-s* assisting in a sacrifice the *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* narrated by Brahmā;

When we think that, according to *Skanda purāṇa* (VII. 1.2.8 ff) and *Nārada purāṇa* (I. 109. 30 f), the *Brahmāṇḍa* was the original *purāṇa*,

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14. The *māhātmya-s* of the places we are studying here are the following;
Naimiṣa: *Kūrma* II. 41.1-15; cf. also *Devī Bhāgavata* I. 2.28;
Brahmāṇḍa I. 1.156; *Varāha* (Veṅk) 11. 109; *Vāyu* I. 1.166; *Śiva* VII. 1.4.52.

Kurukṣetra: *Nārada* II 64-65; Vāmana (Crit. Ed). 22.23.Sā. 28.49; Agni 109; *Mahābhārata* III. 81. 1-178; IX. 37. 1-43. 49; *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 13.65-69; II. 47. 1-32; *Pldma* (Mor Ed.) I. 26-27.

Badarī: *Skanda* II. 37; *Nārada* II. 67; see *Bhāgavata* VII. 11.6; *padma* VI.2; VI. 212; *Varāha* 141; *Mahābhārata* III. 88. 19-27.

Gaṅgāsāgara: *Padma* I. 39. 4-5; VI. 237. 6d; VI. 121. 10; 131. 54; 204. 33; *Brahma* 174 (it refers to Gautamī Gaṅgā).

Siddhāśrama;: *Varāha* 145. 79 ff (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 29).

Gaṅgādvāra: *Nārada* II. 66; *Padma* VI. 213; VI. 21; 1.28.27 ff

Prayāga: *Matsya* 102-111; *Padma* I. 39-49: *Nārada* II. 62-63; *Kūrma* I. 34-37, Agni 111. For a more complete number of purāṇic references on Prayāga see *Purāna*, Vārāṇasī, XIX. I (Jan., 1977), p. 100. Table No 3.

Puṣkara: Agni 109; *Nārada* II. 71; *Padma* I. 11; V. 15-31; VI. 214ff; *Skanda* VI 179; see *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 63. 192.

we can deduce that the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa mentioned here refers perhaps to the whole purāṇic corpus.

Vague instead are the references to purāṇic recitation in other *māhātmyas-*. *Puṣkara Māhātmya* of the *Padma Purāṇa* says;

पुरा कमलजातस्य स्वपतस्तस्य कोटरे ।
पुष्करे यत्र संभूता देवा ऋषिगणास्तथा ॥ ५१ ॥
एष पौष्करको नाम प्रादुर्भावो महात्मनः ।
पुराणं कथ्यते यत्र वेदश्रुतिसमाहितम् ॥ ५२ ॥

(*Padma* P. V. 16.51-52) [15]

'In ancient times at Puṣkara, the cavity of that sleeping lotusborn (Brahmā), where gods and plenty of *ṛṣi-s* were born, (took place) this appearance of the great Spirit by name 'Pauṣkara'. And there the *purāṇa* which matches the Vedic tradition is recited.'

The statement is a rather general and we do not know what *'purāṇa'* (singular) is meant by *śloka* 52 c. It might be the *Padma purāṇa* or the *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa* itself from which this *śloka* is taken. The same *purāṇa* (V. 18.50) mentions an attendance in a sacrifice at Puṣkara by *'itihāsapurāṇajñais'* 'and a presence of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and his disciples at the *Saptarṣis' āśrama* (V. 19.215 cd), but this does not imply that the *purāṇa-s* were recited at Puṣkara.

Badarīkāśrama māhātmya of the *Skanda purāṇa* (II. 3.2.32) informs us that Nārāyaṇāśrama was situated here. The same *purāṇa* (3.21 ff) assures us that Nārada as well as the comentators of the four *Veda-s* (ib. 6.31 f) had their residence here. Nārada is one of the purāṇic narrators who enters very often in many *purāṇa-s*. Of Veda Vyāsa it is said (ib. 6.38).

वेदव्यासोऽपि भगवान् यत्प्रसादादुदारधीः ।
पुराणसंहितार्थज्ञोऽभवदत्र न संशयः ।

15. The *Śloka* is repeated with some variants in *Brahma* P. 213. 30-31.

'Also the sagacious Lord Veda Vyāsa, knower of the meaning of the *purāṇa saṁhitā*, was there by his grace; there is no doubt'.

What he did there is not specified.

Gaṅgādvāra māhātmya of the *Nārada purāṇa* (II. 66. 53 ab) affirms that if one listens to a *purāṇa* at Gaṅgādvāra with faith one will reach an undecaying state. But such a claim is common to many other places and adds nothing to our knowledge of purāṇic recitation held there.

The case of *Kurukṣetra māhātmya* is more striking. Not only it does not mention any purāṇic recitation held at Kurukṣetra but it affirms even that the place where Śaunaka, the formost of the *ṛṣi-s*, enquires about river Sarasvatī from Lomaharṣaṇa (i.e. Sūta) is not Kurukṣetra but Naimiṣa[16] From *Mahābhārata* III. 81.92 (cf. also *Brahma* P. 26.6) we learn that Vyāsa went to Kurukṣetra where he died. We are also told that the Naimiṣeya-s moved to Kurukṣetra[17] in pilgrimage but never a hint at a purāṇic recitation held there. This seems to imply that even for the Kurukṣetra *māhātmya-s* the *purāṇa-s*, or some of them, were recited at Naimiṣa. The only strange thing is that such a statement is found in a *māhātmya* which should have to speak of purāṇic events at Kurukṣetra not at Naimiṣa.

To complicate the picture I have to point out another fact. The four purāṇic passages containing the *anukramaṇika-s* of all the *purāṇa-s*, namely, *Agni* 272, *Matsya* 53, *Nārada* 82-109 and *Skanda* VII. 12.28 ff. give details of purāṇic contents, the period of history described in each *purāṇa*, revealing deity etc., but they never mention any place of purāṇic recitation. Such places had no relevance for them, it seems.

This lack of clear statements in the *māhātmya-s* about purāṇic recitation in places other than Naimiṣāraṇya seems to imply that either the local traditions had already disappeared at the time of *māhātmya*-composition or that those places mentioned in the *purāṇa-s* were in fact ideal places. We can exemplify it in the following way : if Puṣkara is the *tīrtha* where Brahmā is specially venerated, a *purāṇa* or a part thereof, where Brahmā is prevalent must be put somehow in connection with

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16. See *Vāmana P.*, Sā, 16. 24 ff.

17. See for instance, *Brahma P.* 26. 2-17; *Mahābhārata* III. 81.92.

Puṣkara. Puṣkara will become the traditional place of recitation of such a *purāṇa* or part therof. Were this true, it would confirm what has already been affirmed above, namely that the places of purāṇic recitation mentioned in the *purāṇa-s* describe moments or layers of purāṇic evolution, they are not real geographical spots. Thus, in the above mentioned example, saying that a *purāṇa* was recited at Puṣkara would first of all mean that the *purāṇa* underwent a stage in which Brahmā and the sagas about him were the prevalent elements. This, of course, does not exclude that, in fact, such a *purāṇa* or part thereof, was really recited at Puṣkara, but it does not affirm it either. So, for instance, from *Padma* P. V. 1.55 we know that once *Padma's* first *parva* was called *'Pauṣkara'*. So when *Padma* P.V. 16.52 affirms that a *purāṇa* was recited at Puṣkara, it may mean in fact that a part or layer of the *Padma purāṇa*, the Pauṣkara layer, was recited at Puṣkara or was somehow related to the sagas of Puṣkara.

A last question remains : if these places represent layers of purāṇic evolution how many are they ? The above given table shows ten places. Should all of them be considered purāṇic layers ? The division given in the table already indicates the most important spots which probably correspond to distinct moments of development.

The first is *Naimiṣāraṇya* accepted by ten *purāṇa-s* at least and confirmed by the Naimiṣa and Kurukṣetra *māhātmya-s*, as we have seen. Naimiṣāraṇya most probably represents the last place or the last layer in the evolution of purāṇic tradition as it appears in the purāṇic arrangement[18].

Directly connected with it is *Kurukṣetra*. I do not think that Kurukṣetra represents really a period different from Naimiṣāranya's. Both the spots in fact host a twelve-year-long sacrifice and both at the beginning of Kali *yuga*. In both the places we meet with Lomaharṣaṇa, the Sūta and the *ṛṣi-s* led by Śaunaka[19]. Moreover the *ṛṣi-s* at Kurukṣetra according to *Vāyu* I. 1.11-12 are called 'Naimiṣeya-s'[20] which implies that they are exactly the same persons present at Naimiṣāraṇya. If everything is equal at Kurukṣetra and at Naimiṣa what is the need of two distinct places ? The

18. See also Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī, XXII. 1 (Jan., 1980) pp. 33-60.

19. See *Skanda* P. II. 1. 1. 1 and II. 8.18

20. The *ṛṣi-s* who attended the *purāṇa-s* are often called Naimiṣīya-s. See *Kūrma* P. I. 1.2; *Garuḍa* P. 1.5; *Brahmāṇḍa* P. I. 1.37 etc.

reason can be the following. At the beginning of the Kali yuga an enthusiastic movement seems to have spread all over the Madhyadeśa. The *ṛṣi-s* were mainly responsible for it[21]. As the bards used to move about singing their sagas, so the *ṛṣi-s* also moved from place to place, performing sacrifices and narrating old stories and old events putting in them a new spirit. From this great effort to keep alive the anicent tradition which included, we have to suppose, also the answers to new necessities of the Kali *yuga*, two litereary and religious streams took shape, namely, the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, linked with the war of the Pāṇḍava-s and the *purāṇa-s* on the other, in relation with Naimiṣāraṇya. This at least seems to be the picture we can deduce from tradition. Whether the details of this reconstruction are true or not should not bother us much now. Here one thing only should be stressed, namely that the message underlying the purāṇic statements considered above is simply that the same persons, in the same period, did the same things but in two different places, at Kurukṣetra, traditional place of the *Mahābhārata* and Naimiṣāraṇya, traditional place of the *purāṇa-s*. The inter-relation between the *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇa-s* is no matter to be proved here as it is well-known. In fact, the two streams, *Mahābhārata* and *purāṇa-s*, seem to be different aspects of one and the same movement with strong reciprocal influence. The *purāṇa-s* express this fact by stating that Vedavyāsa composed both the *purāṇa-s* and the *Mahābhārata*[22]. Naimiṣa and Kurukṣetra, then, although two different places, do not represent in the texts we are examining two layers but only one. From what has been said it seems that this layer has to be put approximately in the period of the *Mahābhārata*, i.e. at the beginning of Kali *yuga*, according to the traditional view, and that the authors who mentioned Kurukṣetra as a place of purāṇic recitation most probably wanted to mean that the *purāṇa-s* and the *Mahābhārata* are somewhow connected[23].

Previous to the Naimiṣa-Kurukṣetra layer there was at least another place or, better, another area where the *purāṇa-s* had been recited : the *Himalayas*. In such an area we find Badarīkāśrama, Siddhāśrama,

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21. Cf. Brahmāṇḍa P. II. 35 15 ff; Vāyu I. 61.12ff. The *ṛṣi-s* surely supported the bards, cf. *Padma* V. 1. 36. We are not interested here to know whether such a period is historical or not. It is enough to point out the opinion of the purāṇic authors.

22. Cf. *Matsya P.* 53.70.

23. A certain relation between Naimisa and Kurukṣetra can be seen also in *Mahābhārata* IX. 36.39ff.

Gaṅgādvāra i.e. Haridvār and most probably Prayāga. Siddhāśrama is collocated in the Nepāla *kṣetra* by the *Varāha purāṇa* (145.79ff) which seems to be the only *purāṇa* mentioning this *āśrama* even if very shortly. *Nārada purāṇa* I.1.24ff implies that Nārāytaṇa was living in Siddhāśrama, while for *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa* I. 1.63 Siddhakṣetra was the place where Sauti received the *purāṇa* from Vyāsa. For our purpose here it is enough to note that this place was on the Himalayas[24]. 'Jahṇavītaṭe', i.e. the Gaṅgā's river bank is also another place of purāṇic recitation mentioned in the *Brahmavaivarta* and *Skanda purāṇa-s*. It can refer to any *tīrtha* on the Gaṅgā, most probably Badarīkāśrama, where Nārada recited the Brahmavaivarta purāṇa to Vyāsa (I. 1.62) and where there was Nara-Nārāyaṇa's *āśrama*, famous for purāṇic recitation (*Brahma P*. 210.33). As it cannot be further specified it is better to leave the problem open. I have to point out here that Haridvār is called *'tīrtharāja'* by *Padma P*., Uttar Khanda, 231.41. Now, such a designation, although used for many places[25], is commonly applied to Prayāga[26] (Allahabad), one of the places of the great sacrifice *(yāga)* of Brahmā. The denomination *'tīrtharāja'*, therefore, is the link for passing from Haridvār, still a Himalayan spot, to Prayāga, another spot of purāṇic recitation, which at least in *Śiva purāṇa*, is the confluence on the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā, i.e. Allahabad. Prayāga, however, is the name of many spots, besides Allahabad, and is specially frequent of the Himalayas all along the river Gaṅgā. Even if the Prayāga mentioned by the Śiva and the *Padma purāṇa-s* is the one at the confluence of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā at Allahabad, we can suppose that it has been introduced in the *purāṇa-s* as a place of purāṇic recitation because of its designation as *'tirtharāja'*, which it had in common with Haridvār. Prayāga, therefore, seems to have been originally no independent place of purāṇic recitation, but a designation of a *'tīrtharāja'* most probably on the Himālayas.

As for *Puṣkara*, we have first to note that it is found, as a place of purāṇic recitation, only in the *Padma* and *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa-s*.

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24. Note that the Siddhāśrama, seat of Vāmana, near Baksar (Bihar), is not mentioned in the *purāṇa-s*. See Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 29 and N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India*, Delhi 1971.

25. *Padma P*. VI. 132.6 (Kapālamocana *tirtha*); *Brahma P*. 42.45; 44,46 (Utkala *kṣetra*) etc.

26. Cf. *Matsya* P. 109.15; *Skanda* P. IV. 7.45; *Padma P*. VI. 23.27ff. etc.

Both these *purāṇa-s* were linked, in a period of their evolution, with the cult of Brahmā as is still apparent in the actual *Padma purāṇa* and in the stress given to Brahmā (who is for all purposes identified with Kṛṣṇa) in the *Brahmavaivarta*. Puṣkara is the only other place, besides Naimiṣāraṇya, for which we have a mention of purāṇic recitation in the *māhātmya-s*, as we have seen above. According to *Nārada* P. II. 71.16 at Puṣkara there was a forest where Brahmā and other gods spent the best of their time (*Śl.* 155). as Brahmā is the main narrator of the *purāṇa-s*[27], we can suppose that really, in the purāṇic views, the *purāṇa-s* were narrated here in ancient times.

The *purāṇa-s*, then, by specifying the places of purāṇic recitation seem to suggest that at least three layers of tradition are available in the purāṇic narration. One stemming from Puṣkara is attached to Brahmā and is prior to Kali *yuga*. Another contains a Himalayan tradition and is linked to the *ṛṣi-s* living in the mountains in different *āśrama-s* the most of which was Badarīkāśrama, where the most renowned ṛṣi was *Nārada*. A third one, at last, is linked with Naimiṣāraṇya, it goes back to the beginning of the Kali *yuga* and is in direct connection with the performance of a sacrifice and is in relation to the current which gave birth also to the *Mahābhārata*.

While suggesting the interrelation between these three sources, however, the *purāṇa-s* seem to be attentive to stress their unity also. This fundamental unity is expressed by making Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana author of the *Mahābhārata*, of the *purāṇa-s* as well as systematizer of the *Veda-s*[28]. So the *purāṇa-s* seem to suggest that the many and different purāṇic traditions have been unified by Vyāsa without completely suppressing them, but rather integrating them organically at Naimiṣāraṇya.

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27. Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī, XXII. 1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 40-42.

28. Cf. *ibid*. p. 34.

DAIVĪ VĀC

(Divine Speech)

BY

SINDHU SADHASHIV DANGE

[वैदिकयज्ञप्रक्रियायां यज्ञप्रक्रियायाः सम्यक् संपादनं तत्संपादने च वैदिकमन्त्राणां यथोचितप्रयोगा उच्चारणं च आवश्यकं वर्तते । यज्ञक्रियाया यथोचितसंपादनं विधिः कथ्यते । विधिमन्त्राभ्यां सम्यक् संपादितो यज्ञोऽभीष्टफलदो भवति । ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु बहुशो निर्दिष्टं यत् यज्ञस्थ रूपसमृद्धं तदेव कर्म यत्र मन्त्राणां सम्यगुच्चारणं भवति । अत्र विदुष्या लेखिकया मन्त्रमय्या देवीवाचः विषये विवेचनं प्रमाणपुरस्सरं विहितम् ।]

देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवा–
स्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति ।
सा नो मन्द्रा, इषमूर्जं दुहाना
धेनुर्वागस्मानुप सुष्टुतैतु ॥ (ṚV VIII. 100,11)

The Vedic sacrificial tradition, as recorded in the Saṁhitā-s and the Brāhmaṇa-texts, gives importance to two factors *viz.* ritual of scrifice *(vidhi)* and prayer or chant *(mantra)* recited appropriate to that ritual. The *mantra* is no less powerful than the *vidhi*. In this regard, the Brāhmaṇa-texts propound the doctrine of *rūpasamṛddha* (perfection in form). This doctrine states that the perfection fo sacrifice depends on the *mantra* or *mantra*-s, which are recited[1].

The *mantra* apart from being appropriate to the ritual is thought of as a potent form of Speech (Vāc). In this connection, the expression often occurring in the Vedic ritual-texts is *vāg vai vajñaḥ*-'Speech indeed is sacrifice' (*Śat. Br.* I. 1.2.2; III. 1.3.27; III.4.3.16; XIII. 3.6.6. etc.)

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1. *Ait. Br.* I. 13=3.2
एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृगभिवदति ।
also *Ibid* I. 16= 3.5; I.17=3.6; I.19=4.2; I 21=4.4 etc.
For such expressions, also–
Kauṣ. Br. I. 1; III. 19; VII. 10; VIII. 6 etc.
Nir. I.16 एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृग् यजुर्वाभिवदति ।

Sacrifice cannot be accomplished without Speech. Mere ritual, not accompanied by any speech, is thought to be devoid of life and in order to give it a throb of life, Speech is absolutely necessary as speech is an expression of human existence.

But speech is closely connected with thought, which is expressed by the former. Therefore the Vedic ritual-texts at several places dwell on the mutual relationship between, and also the respective importance of, Speech and Mind. Though it stands that Mind and Speech, when yoked together, convey the sacrifice to the gods (*Ibid* I.4.1.1) and with them the sacrifice can turn to both sides like a chariot (*Ṣaḍ. Br.* I.5.4), a thought occurs in the Vedic ritual-texts that of the two, Mind is more important than Speech. The *Śat: Br.* (I.4.5.8-12) records the famous Ahaṁbhadrīya dispute, when each of the two - Mind and Speech - said that he/she was excellent. When they went to Prajāpati, he decided in favour of Mind, saying that Speech was only an imitator of Mind's deeds and thus his follower. Speech becoming angry said that she would never be an oblation-bearer of Prajāpati as he did not support her claim for superiority. Granting that this mythical account is stated, by way of an *arthvāda* (glorification), to explain why Prajāpati is given offerings in a low voice *(upāṁśu)*, it shows how Mind was thought to be superior to Speech.

Here the scientific principle involved is of the inter-relationship between the psychic and the vocal process. Apart from the accostic value of every syllable, the fact remains that Speech follows the dictates of the Mind and hence in rituals, it is not only Speech but the mental process or psyche also which takes part. If we do not accpet that position about the mental process, mere articulate speech will be nothing but physical effort with the tongue. So when the ritual-texts speak of the *rūpasamṛddha* they take for granted the participation of the psychic activity in the sacrifice.

Nevertheless Speech at times is eulogised highly as compared to Mind, for the *mantra*-s, as an aspect of Speech, formed an essential part of sacrifice and worked for the rūpasamṛddha of sacrifice. In the the *RV* (IV. 30) and *AV* (X. 125) occurs the eulogy of Speech, which is regarded as a deity. The *Kauṣ.Br.* (II.7) while prescribing in the agnihotra, the evening-offerings accompanied by a *ṛc*, states by way of an *arthavāda*, the importance of speech in the life of an individual, indicating thereby that it is more so in the context of sacrifice. The *Śat. Br.* says that by Speech

everything is gained here and by Speech he heals whatever has been unsuccessful in the sacrifice (XIV. 3.2.20). The *Tāṇḍ M. Br.* (XIII. 12.13) expresses a similar thought that by means of Speech they perform the whole sacrifice and getting a firm support in Speech, they complete the sacrificial session (*Ibid XV*. 10.13). Even the gods who are required to perform sacrifice to score victory over the *asura*-s are shown to be wooing Vāc (Speech) and to be trying to remove her displeasure by giving her a share in the offerings (*Śat. Br.* IV. 6.7.6; III. 5.1.18-23).

The *Śat. Br*. (VII. 1.2.18) mentions that the two-fold form of Speech is the divine and the human. Through the mythical account of a quarrel between Vāyu and Indra over a share in the *soma*-cup and in that Prajāpati deciding in favour of Vāyu allotting him three-fourths of the share, the Śat. Br. states that as to Indra was assigned only a fourth part of the share, Speech speaks intelligibly only one fourth part, while the beasts, birds and the small vermin each, speaks one fourth part. Here the Śat. Br. quotes a verse from the *RV* (I. 164.45), which mentions that there are four divisions of Speech. The verse runs as follows -

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

The verse states that the *brāhmaṇa*-s (the 'wise'; there is no reference to caste here), who are sagacious know these four forms of Speech. Three forms of Speech deposited in a secret place move not i.e. do not become patent (Sāyaṇa- *na ceṣṭante, na prakāśante*); of Speech, men speak only the fourth division. According to Agrawala V.S., the verse in question inculcates the full-fledged doctrine of Vāk in its two-fold aspect, viz. Parā Vāk and Aparā Vāk, Amṛtā Vāk and Mṛtyā Vāk[2].

It is interesting to note that the later grammatical tradition, while explaining the doctrine of *sphoṭa*, has stated such a kind of division. The verse quoted often, runs as -

परा वाङ् मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता ।

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2. Agrawala, V.S. *The Thousand* Syllabled *Speech (Sahasrākṣarā Vāk)*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 171.

हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशगा ॥

The Speech Beyond - Parā Vāk - stays in the human body at the *mūlacakra* (lower end of the spinal cord). The further stages of Vāk are *viz*. Paśyantī as situated at the navel; Madhyamā which stays in the heart and Vaikharī which escapes the glottal region to come out of the mouth. The vedic ritual tradition has this last aspect *viz*. Vaikharī - the actual speech or sound in view, which however gets connected to Speech Beyond (Parā Vāk) due to its sacrificial context.

Speech mentioned in the ritual context though human, because it is uttered by the human beings, is the Divine Speech, as it is used for the sacrificial purpose and it is in the precincts of the sacrifice. It is the Speech uttered by the concecrated sacrificer or priest and it is clearly distinguished from the ordinary human speech as well as that of the birds, beasts etc.

The injunction (vidhi) of reciting the Prātar-anuvāka (morning chant) by the Hotṛ in the latter half of the night, before any sound (even of birds etc.) is heard, brings out prominently how the effect of sacrificial Speech is sought to be maintained in the Vedic ritual (Ait. Br. II.15 = 7.5; Kauṣ. Br. XI. 8). Prātar-anuvāka may begin immediately after mid-night and conclude as soon as day light appears. In this hour, there is sought to be no other sound heard, for fear of contamination, except that of the recitation fo the hymns and some detached verses.

That only the speech employed in the sacrificial ritual by the consecrated (sacrificer) or the priest can bring the required fruit is indicated through an *arthavāda* by the *Tait. Sam.* (III. 1.1.1).The *Śat, Br.* enjoins that a consecrated person has to be cautious, while uttering speech in the sacrifice (III. 2.2.29). The consecrated sacrificer is required to observe restraint on speech *(vāgyama)*. It is said that when he restrains his speech, he retains the sacrifice with himself, for Speech is sacrifice (*Ibid* III. 2.1.38). The sacrificer is not to communicate with every one, because when consecrated, he goes near the gods and becomes one of them (*Ibid* III. 1.1.10).

The concept of Speech in the sacrificial context was never thought to be other than that of truth. The *Ait. Br.* (I. 16=1.16) lays down in clear words that the consecrated sacrificer should utter *vicakṣaṇavatī vāk*. *Vicakṣaṇa* is the eye and by it he sees in a correct manner. The expression-*vicakṣaṇavatīm vācam vadet* seems to mean that the consecrated

sacrificer should utter such speech, which is true by his own experience, got by direct perception, as one's eye is a discerning factor. As compared to this the impure speech was taken to be the speech of the *asura*-s or the *rakṣas*-es.

Speech to be uttered in the sacrifice was generally to be in loud voice and in a clear tone. The *Kauṣ. Br.* (XI.1) says that, that part of speech which is not infested by evil comes in a clear tone. Hence the priest should recite in a clear tone to smite away the evil from the sacrificer.

The triple Veda (comprising of *ṛc*-s, *yajus*-es and *sāman*-s) is said to be the thousand-fold progeny of Speech (*Śat. Br.*. V. 5.5.12). The details gathered from the Vedic ritual texts clearly point out that not only the *ṛc*-s, *yajus*-es, *sāman*-s' *stotra*-s and *śastra-s, stoma*-s and *stobha*-s [3] but also the metres and the permutations and combinations of metres (called *sampad*-s) *Devaśilpa*-s[4] mystic utterances such as Vaṣaṭ, Hiñ, Svāhā, Om the three Vyāhṛti-s (Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ), *śloka*-s and *gāthā*-s, also *Yajñagāthā*-s, which are all the articulate form of Speech as well as playing on instruments such as *vāṇa* and vīṇā, which is the inarticulate form of Speech, are to be regarded as different aspects of Speech, which gave *rūpasamṛddha* to the sacrifice.

The basic principle underlying all these aspects of Speech was to add through sound in any form, life-breath to the physical aspect of sacrifice. And it has to be noted that the utterance of the sound such as Vaṣaṭ, Hin, Svāhā etc. seemingly without any meaning, was always associated with the psychic process and contemplation, though on the face of it this was not evident. Touch of the Vāc is thus thought to be necessary to give psyco-vocal support to the physical act in the ritual.

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3. The terms *stotra, Śastra, stoma* and *stobha* in their etymological sense mean 'praise' or 'laud'. However as Śabara in his commentary on *Jaim. Sū.* (VII. 2.17) points out, *stotra* is a laud that is sung to melody and *śastra* is a laud that is only recited. *Stoma* means a group of verses (usually three) which are increased to 15,17, 21 etc. by means of repetition in various patterns, which are called Viṣṭuti. *Stobha*-s are musical interjections and flourishes introduced in the *sāman* -chants, such as *hau, haī, ī, ū, hum (Chānd. Up* I. 13).

4. The hymns brought into use for the purpose of the Devaśilpa-s are- (i) Nābhānediṣṭha (*RV* X. 61) (ii) Vālakhilya (*Ibid* VIII. 49-59) (iii) Vṛṣākapi (*Ibid* X. 86) (iv) Evayāmarut (*Ibid* V. 87). The hymns which are combined with these four are Nārāśaṁsa, Sukīrti and Kuntāpa.

In the eyes of the Vedic ritualists. Vāc is regarded as one of the deities of the atmosphere (*Nighaṅṭu* V. 5). It is the thunder or the *mādhyamikā Vāk* 'the voice of the mid-region' in the terminology of the commentators- which may have been the starting point for the personification.[5] The seer of the Asyavāmīya hymn (*Ṛ V* I. 164) Dīrghatamaṣ gives a clear indication of this personification, when he says that Vāc whom he names *gaurī* (cow) lowed fashioning the tumultous waters. Thus we read- *gaurīr mimāya salilāni takṣatī* (*Ṛ V* I. 164.41 a). *Gaurī* is the mid-region cow-Speech that 'thunders' giving rise to a multitude of *akṣara*-s . It will be interesting to know that, in the context of the Subrahmaṇyā litany (*nigada*) Indra is zoo-morphed as *gaura avaskandin* ('the bull that jumps'). Oblivious of this cow-image. Sāyaṇa understands *gaurī* simply as 'lowing mid-region speech' (*garaṇaśīlā mādhyamikā vāk*). He says that she is the Speech endowed with the Brahman in the form of word (garaṇaśīlā śabdabrhmātmikā vāk). This is plausible enough for, from the philosophical point of view, sound from the mid-region (ie. thunder)- and, that way, any sound-is to be traced to the Highest Speech, which forms the concept of the *śabda-brahman*, as stated by Bhartṛhari in later times. However it has to be stated that Sāyaṇa's interpretation based on philosophical concept, has missed the cow-image, which is equally important. Speech suggested itself to the Vedic Aryans primarily in the thunder and its extension in their day to day life came to be associated with the sound of two important domesticated animals. They were the cow and the horse.

We leave here the discussion about the horse, who figures in the Vedic ritual as a symbol of Prajāpati, identified with the very sacrifice and also with the Sun. The neighing of the horse comes close to the sound Hiñ in, the Vedic ritual. To take up the image of the cow as associated with Vāc, which is clearly seen in the ritual of Somakrayaṇa (purchasing of Soma). The account of Speech going to the *asura*-s for bringing Soma and again coming back to the gods occurs in the *Ait. Br.* (I. 27=5.1) as well as *Śat. Br.* (III. 2.4.3-6). The *Ait. Br.* mentions that Soma the king, was among the *gandharva*-s and the gods and seers desired to have it. Speech suggested to them that as the *gandharva*-s loved women, they should

5. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology,* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995 (Strassburg 1898), p. 124.

barter her for Soma. They did as she told and bought Soma by giving her to the *asura*-s. In imitation of this, in the ritual of the purchase of Soma, they bring a young immaculate cow to purchase Soma and as Speech went back to the gods, they repurchase and take back the cow.

It is interesting to note that the sacred sound Om comes close to the bellowing of a cow (hambārava). Again the bellowing of a bull is said to be of highest importance in the Vedic ritual. In the rituals of the Mahāvrata day, which is the penultimate day in the Gavāmayana *sattra*, the *Jaim. Br.* (II. 404) speaks of the *stotrya*-s (eighty-seven in number) and *parimād*-s (thirteen in number). According to the *Jaim. Br.*, the word *parimādaḥ* signifies several musical instruments,[6] out of which *bhūmidundubhi* (earth-drum) is important. This earth-drum speaks out (i.e. makes a sound) when the bull's hide, spread and fixed on a pit in the earth, is struck or beaten. The *Jaim. Br.* states here that the bull's sound is of highest importance. It will be interesting to note a detail in the Sākamedha iṣṭi (the third in order of the Cāturmāsya *iṣṭi*-s). A bull is made to bellow (roar) in this *iṣṭi* and if he does not, the Brahman priest seated on the south side loudly says *Juhudhi* ('Give offerings'). This is said to be the voice of Indra the god of rain. The bull is taken to be Indra's form and when the bull bellows (in the Sākamedha *iṣṭi*), it is understood that Indra has come to the sacrifice (*Śat. Br.* II. 5.3.18). A cake is offered on seven potsherds for the sportive Maruts (*Ibid* II. 5.3.20). This is obviously because they as storm-gods are the helpers of Indra the god of rain.

The bellowing of the bull in this *iṣṭi* is of great importance and it signifies the thundering sound in the midregion. The bull's roar or imitation of it by the priest is for impelling Speech, which is in the mid-region. And this mid-region Speech is the thunder–the sound made by the cow (*gaurī*), which, while bellowing, emits the torrents of rain, so craved by the humans on the earth.

The highest tribute on the Divine Speech is showered when the *Jaim. Br.*. takes her to be the very Creator. It relates that Speech itself was the immutable One Principle in the beginning. She desired that she should be many, create and spread the sacrifice. She offered oblations twelve times

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6. These musical instruments are- *karkarī, alābu, vakrā, kapiśīrṣṇī, aiṣīkī, apaghāṭalikā, vīṇā, kaśyapī, bhūmi-dundubhi* and *vāṇa* having hundred strings.

and then were created the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice. From them came the twenty-four half months, which, in turn, became seven hundred and twenty days and nights. In this way Speech created the year *(saṁvatsara)* and thus the sacrifice *(Jaim. Br.* III. 326). Hence it is that any aspect of Speech, when employed in sacrifice, bestows perfect form on the sacrifice.[7]

ABBREVIATIONS

AV	=	*Atharvaveda*
Ait. Br.	=	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
Chān. Up.	=	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*
Jaim. Br.	=	*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*
Kauṣ. Br.	=	*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*
Nir.	=	*Nirukta*
RV	=	*Ṛgveda*
Śat. Br.	=	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
Ṣaḍ. Br.	=	*Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*
Tāṇḍ. M. Br.	=	*Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*
Tait. Sam.	=	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*

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7. See (Mrs) Sindhu S. Dange, *Aspects of Speech in Vedic Ritual,* Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996 for the detailed treatment of this topic.

SPIRITUAL UNITY OF THE TWO PARTS DIVISION OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND ITS PURPOSE*

By

CHANDRADHAR PRASAD NARAIN SINGH

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[अस्मिंन् निबन्धे प्रतिपादितं यन्महर्षिणा वाल्मीकिना विरचितं वाल्मीकीयरामायणं मूलतो भागद्वयात्मकमासीत् प्रथमभागस्य नाम पौलस्त्यवध आदिकाव्यं वासीत् द्वितीयो भाग: अभ्युदयकाव्यमुत्तरकाव्यं वा इति नाम्ना प्रथित आसीत् । प्रथमभागस्य समाप्ती रावण- वधानन्तरं आसीत् । रामराज्याभिषेकसहित: शेष: संपूर्णो भागोऽभ्युदयकाव्ये उत्तरकाव्ये वासीत् । आदिकाव्ये रामस्य देवत्वमावृतं वर्तते यतस्तु रावणस्य वधो नरेण निर्दिष्ट आसीत् न देवेन । रावणवधानन्तरं रामस्य सर्वदेवाधिदेवत्वं कविना व्यक्ती- कृतम् । प्रसङ्गतो रामायणकाव्ये कालक्रियास्थानान्वितित्रयस्य अन्यग्रन्थेषूपलब्धस्य रामचरित्रस्यापि समीक्षणं कृतम् ।]

INTRODUCTION

Discovery of the two parts Ur-Rāmāyaṇa is the greatest achievement in the achievements of this century made possible by the Critical edition of the Baroda Oriental Institute. The first part, *Paulastyavadha,* ended at the sarga: 97 of the Yuddhakāṇḍa, and from VI. 98 upto the end of the present Uttarakāṇḍa formed the second part, the *Rāmābhyudaya.* Only some evidences have been given for it in the article 'Kāṇḍa structure of Rāmāyaṇa and authenticity of Uttarakāṇḍa' (Dr. G.S. Rai, Special Ayodhyā-Sarayū-Number, *Purāṇam,* July, 1991). There are many others, and we hope that they and even more will be coming forth soon.

The first and the most curious thing about this book-division is a break in the narration at sarga: VI. 97, ending the Kāṇḍa (rather the Book *Paulastyavadha).* It does need some explanation, and the poet's mind needs be explored into to understand why he chose this rather odd ending, which we will see probably has been a source of irreconcilable incomfort to the later Rāmāyaṇa tra dition since about a couple of millenia. We

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propose here to provide an answer to this all important question by analysing the unity of the two parts of the Rāmāyaṇa, severally and compositely.

When we talk of unity of a work it is generally in context of drama. The context may be well extended to other poetical works specially the Rāmāyaṇa which has been since long connected with dramatic representation. Its popularity can be judged by the fact that to enact the different episodes of Rāmāyaṇa in their plays has been a favourite sport with the Indian boys since time immemorial. The following verse of the Bhāgavata quite likely reflects the same:

एवं विहारैः कौमारैः कौमारं जहतुर्व्रजे ।
निलायनैः सेतुबन्धैर्मर्कटोत्प्लवनादिभिः ॥ "Bhāg. X. II. 59

We are well justified in connecting this reference of Bhāgavata to the deeds done by Kṛṣṇa himself in his previous incarnation, as it seems to be general tendency of Bhāgavata to do so. This is not the only such reference, we find even *Gopis* referring to the acts of Kṛṣṇa in his Rāma incarnation:

मृगयुरिव कपीन्द्रं विव्यधे लुब्धधर्मा
स्त्रियमकृत विरूपां स्त्रीजितः कामयानाम् ॥

"X. 47.17ab.

The tradition of dramatic performance of Rāmāyaṇa can be traced back to Harivaṁśa also. Dr. Raghvan[1] points out the episode of *Vajranābhavadha*, where actors give a dramatic performance of some episodes of Bālakāṇḍa and Uttarakāṇḍa. This has no doubt been relegated by the Editor of Critical edition to the Appendix: I, No. 29F, yet its antiquity can not be questioned being found in practically all the recensions, Ś N_2 V B T G M_4.

Some may trace this association of dramatic representation of the Rāmāyaṇa theme right upto Harappan period as reportedly there has been found in the excavations a depictation of a man with tale attached and bearing a mask of monkey. So it will be not out of place to discuss the question in terms of dramatic unity

1. Dr. V. Raghavan, The Greater Rāmāyaṇa. pp. 32-33.

I

Vālmīki's may or may not be the first words of poetry but certainly he is the last word in whatever he wrote, this is true about the concept of the dramatic unity as well. Generally the dramatic unity is classifiesd under three heads :

(i) Unity of place,
(ii) Unity of time and
(iii) Unity of action (theme in the context of an epic).

The Rāmāyaṇa story spread over more than one continents, does not give much scope for the unity of place. Even so, the poet probably does not generally mention the great distances between the far of locations, except for creating special effects as in the case off Hanumat's flight. It seems he avoided deliberately to mention the distance between Laṅkā and Ayodhyā during the Puṣpaka's flight which would have been quite pertinent there. Non-mention of these distances great, at least an apparent, sense of comparative compactness of the space, a thing relevant for the stage representation of the story.

Another aspect of the unity of place is the fidelity of description to the different eco-systems and its consistency throughout the long epic. We find that Vālmiki has maintained this throughout the story envolving varied topography of far off places. No doubt, much or at least something of it, has been lost in the vulgate texts due to the indiscriminate changes and amendments made in the names of the flora and fauna and river etc. But at least, we may point out a couple of example without searching a great deal. As Hanumat reached the shore of Lankā he landed at the place for which Vālmiki says सकेलोद्दालनारिकेले or सकेतकीचम्पक (S_1 चण्यक) नारिकेले ($Ś_1 \cdot D_{10}$). These coconut trees lining the coast land are not found elsewhere, say in Kiṣkindhā. Similarly 'गण्डवन्ति बनानि' describing the land (or forest) having गण्डवत् rocks are not met with in the description of Citrakū ṭa. The poet seems to recognise the difference between Vindhyans and Gaṇḍavanas.

II

Coming to the unity of time, Vālmiki (followed by Tulasīdāsa) has made so bold experiments that no later poet has dared to inherit his techniques except for that, one and only one, board of stratford-on-avon.

Commenting on Othallo the Arden editor has pointed out the necessity of invoking a 'Double clock theory' to explain the unity of time in the drama. To appreciate certain lines of drama one has to assign a longer time span for that action, while in other parts of drama the assumption is that the actions were packed into more compact time span. How to gloss over this apparent contradiction? Critics say that Shakespeare by the magic wand of his poetry benumbs, as if, the critical faculty of the spectator (reader) that he remains innocent of the basic contradiction. This tactics of poetic jugglery is essentially Vālmikian. There are two classic examples of it in the epic. The period of exile of Rāma was fourteen years. At some places it was necessary to emphasise the long separation of Rāma from Ayodhyā. For this, Vālmiki not only mentions fourteen years directly, but rather puts it सप्त सप्त च वर्षाणि and 'नव पञ्च च वर्षाणि' as well. On the other hand, fourteen years being a long time might have affected the time-unity of the epic and would have come in the way as a proper hindrance of *rasabodha* (poetic appreciation). So it seems, while narrating the events between the *Citrakūṭa* and the *Rāvaṇavadha,* the poet does not commit to himself any time-scale for the series of the events. The ordinary reader charmed by seer beauty of the poetry, remains obvious of the time factor. It is only when the critic sits up to calculate the Rāmāyaṇa time table he finds himself confused. That is why the question of Rāmāyaṇa time-table has remained a favourite, but vexed, topic of discussion since ancient times. This confusion, for example, has given rise to a unique problem; where did Rāma spent most of the time of fourteen years. There are three schools in the *Rāmakathā* tradition. First, and probably the older, which believes, that the longer period was passed in the Citrakūṭa; second, which believes that most of the time was spent at *Pañcavaṭī* thirdly, which believes that the most of the period was spent in the hermitages of different Ṛṣis in the interior *Daṇḍakāraṇya* (दण्डकारण्यमुत्तरम्) beyond *Citrakūṭa*. Tulasīdāsa has, it seems, followed the first school as also Kālidāsa. This fact is clear from their placing the *kāka (Jayanta)* episode after the departure of Bharata from *Citrakūṭa*. But in doing so Kālidāsa probably, has badly mixed up the contradictary schools. While giving the reason for Rāma leaving *Citrakūṭa* he says :–

रामस्त्वासन्नदेशत्वाद् भरतागमनं पुनः ।
आशङ्क्योत्सुकसारङ्गां चित्रकूटस्थलीं जहौ ॥ Raghu. XII. 24

This reasoning forces one to conclude that he must have left *Citrakūṭa* immediately after Bharata's departure, while the *kāka* episode can best be appreciated as part of Rāma during peaceful and a leisurely duration of time in a sylvan set up, luxuriant and fragrant, as it depicted in the Appendix: I, No. 26 placed just before the arrival of Bharata at *Citrakūṭa* in Ayodhyākāṇḍa. The fact is that in the arche-type text, the portion of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa from Śloka: 11 of Sarga: 108 upto Śloka: 18 of Sarga: 111 did not find a place. The Śloka: II. 111 19, preceded by lines: 326 of 2417,*was read after II. 108. 10. It was not just simply an interpolation lengthening the epic by adding Rāma's visit to *Atri-āśrama*. It also changed the theme and argument of the original text as well. In the original, Rāma left *Citrakūṭa* in persuance of special request of *Ṛṣis* to relieve them of the fear of man-eating *Rākṣasas*, who lived in *Daṇḍakāraṇya* where the sages used to go in search of fruits and roots. The new text put the whole thing differently. Here, the *Ṛṣis* panicked by the terrorization of *Rākṣasas* wanted to leave Rāma's *Āśrama* and even suggested to Rāma that he also might join them in going to some safer place. On Rāma refusing to leave his *Āśrama*, *Ṛṣis* went away leaving the two brothers and Sītā alone. This lonliness, along with the haunting memory of his family, as also the stinging environment, poluted by the refuses of elephants and horses of Bharata's army, made him to proceed to Atri's *Āsrama*. Apparently Kālidāsa has borrowed the cause of Rāma's leaving the *Citrakūṭa* from this part (II. 108.26-109.3) of the interpolated text, which is inconsistant with the Kāka episode after Bharata's departure. According to Rāmāyaṇa workshop, the episode was described only once in the epic, that is, where Sītā narrates it to Hanumat (V. 35.). The older tradition, probably, assumed it to have taken place where Tulasīdāsa and Kālidasa put it. But the interpolation of II. 108. 11 -II. 111. 19 in the Vālmikian text made it inconsistant with the new text and hence the later tradition put it before Bharata's arrival as has been done in the Appendix: passage No. 26 of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. Fortunately, Tulasīdāsa has kept the old tradition in its purity by not introducing the causes of Rāma's leaving his Āśrama as given in the interpolated portion. Unfortunately enough, Kālidasa has mixed up the two traditions. The Vālmikian text, of course, is absolutely noncommittal about its place in the time scale of this and all such events. The poet seems to have made listener forget that there was a long period of fourteen years breaking the continuity of the events.

This speeding up of the 'clock' makes the events happen one after other without any apparent break.

Another classic example of the double clock is in the Uttarakāṇḍa. It is not decided up till now that how after many years after coronation the exile of Sītā took place. One school believes it to have taken place after a year or two after the coronation. The other, followed by Tulasīdāsa (Gītāvalī Uttarakāṇḍa, verse -25)

संकट सुकृत को सोचत जानि जिय रघुरौउ
सहस द्वादस पञ्चसत में कछुक है अब आउ ॥ १
भोग पुनि पितु आयु को सोउ किये बनै बनाउ
परिहरे बिनु जानकी नहि और अनघ उपाउ ॥ २

believes it to have taken place after ten or Twelve thousand years of Rāma's rule. It is even believed that the total destined life span of Rāma was ten thousand years. He lived for another thousand years as his father had died untimely, that is, one thousand years of his life were transferred to Rāma's life span. Thus Rāma had to live so to say, the life of his father for the last one thousand years. It was immoral for him to pass this life in company of Sītā, the situation being something akin to that of Yadu and his brothers and refusing to give their youth to Yayāti, their father. How so ever great, the sacrifice of Puru might have been, the fact remains that he was liable to the charge of incest, the stigma of which could have been removed only by the virtue of his obedience of his fathers command and his subsequent boon :-

तनय जजातिहि, जौवन दयऊ ।
पितु आज्ञा अघ अजस न भयऊ ।

"Yayati's son lent his youth to his father, yet, it being in pursuance of his father's command, did not lead him to sin and infamy".

In pursuance of this theory, Sītā's exile is found to have been taken place towards the end of Rāma's life. Modern scholars may scornfully look down at such concepts as socio-mythological jugglenies' of late date, but it is an essential part of Indian psyche rooted deep into past. It is testified to by Tulasīdāsa (supra- Gītāvalī) and is a part of living tradition of the Indian saints. Dārāsikoha had questioned the famous mystic Bābā Lal Dayāl of Dhyānpur and in reply Lāl Bābā had given this very same

explanation, as is recorded by the Persian recorder of their dialogue.[2] This theory finds its root in the non-southern Vālmikian text tradition itself. As to Rāma's total life span, the common view according to the Vālmikian traditionalists is that he ruled for :– दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च - "I. 1. 76 ab. read alonwith दशवर्षसहस्राणि रामो राज्यमकारयत् 'VI. 116, 90cd, It is a permissible inference that the last thousand years were an 'addendum' or 'borrowed' period.

As to the life span of Daśaratha, the Critical edition, following the southern recension, reads "षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि etc (I. 19.10) The non-south texts read 'नववर्षसहस्राणि' 'instead. Computing ten thousand years for a normal life span in those days, one may say that thousand years still remained of the life of Daśaratha due to his untimely death, and they were added up to the Rāma's life span. This seems to be the genisis of the above theory.

The heart of the controversy lies in the Sarga: VII. 41. Unquestionably, the description of Rāma's visit to the Aśokavanikā, described therein took place just after the coronation. But the following Śiokas make the time-scale ambiguous :–

एवं रामो मुदा युक्तः सीतां सुरुचिराननाम् ।
रमयामास वैदेहीमहन्यहनि देववत् ।।
तथा तु रममाणस्य तस्यैवं शिशिरः शुभः ।
अत्यक्रामन्नरेन्द्रस्य राघवस्य महात्मनः ।।

"VII. 41. 16-17.

The Ślokas 18-20 thereafter described the daily routine of Rāma and Sītā and the Śloka : 21 informs us the pregnancy of Sītā. The southern commentators, in general, taking the Ślokas in normal order have opted for a strict time-scale. Discussing the question so, they have fixed the time of Sītā's pregnancy two years after the coronation (vide, the Critical edition). Many non-southern manuscripts, including all the Devanāgarī Mss. following southern tradition alongwith T 2-4, read after, or substitute, for Ślokas 17, the passage 797,* fully or partly :–

तथा तयोर्विहरतोः सीताराघवयोश्चिरम् ।
दशवर्षसहस्राणि गतानि सुमहात्मनोः ।।

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2. Vide Praśnottaraprakāsh, a Hindi translation of original Persian text p. 16.

In this elaboration non-southern Mss may be justified by the ambiguity inherent in the original text. Before the mention of *śiśira* in 17 we have अहन्यहनि in 16d. So, it does not follow that this Śiśira was that which followed immediately after the coronation. It is very clear that the *Aśokavanikā-vihāra* of this Sarga is not a particular episode. It is just an *Upalakṣaṇa* of many such happy days. Instead of asserting arbitrarily that this *śiśra* was the first *Śisīra* following the coronation, one may equally well take it as the *Śiśira* just preceding Sītā's exile. The poet inroduced it here just to denote the time of the year of her exile. The word अहन्यहनि separate the *Śisīra* from the coronation indefinitely.

The above situation, has an exact parralel in the description of *Hemanta* in Araṇyakāṇḍa. It does signify the time of the year when Śūrpaṇakhā appears on the stage. Yet, it in no way means that this was the first *Hemanta* of Rāma at *Pañcavaṭi*. Before the advent of this *Hemanta* we have the following Ślokas reminding of अहन्यहनि in VII. 41.16 (supra) :-

"एवं लक्ष्मणमुक्त्वा तु राघवो लक्ष्मिवर्धनम् ।
तस्मिन् देशे बहुफले न्यवसत् सुसुखं वशी ॥
कंचित कालं स धर्मात्मा सीतया लक्ष्मणेन च ।
अन्वास्यमानो. न्यवसत् स्वर्गलोके यथामरः ॥ III. 15. 30-31
वसतस्तस्य सुसुखं राघवस्य महात्मनः ।
and
शरद् व्यपाये हेमन्त ऋतुरिष्टः प्रवर्तते ॥
स कदाचित् प्रभातायां शर्वर्यां रघुनन्दनः ।
प्रययावभिषेकार्थं रम्यां गोदावरीं नदीम् ॥ ..III. 16.1-2

Through inimitable ambiguity of his, the poet has not committed himself to any time-scale as either way it would have broken the temporal unity of the description diluting the poetic effect and *rasabodha*.

Poet continues with his sublime ambiguity maintained in *Aśokavanikā* episode (in Uttarakāṇḍa) even after Sītā's disappearance into the earth :-

एवं स कालः सुमहान् राज्यस्थस्य महात्मनः ।
धर्मे प्रयतमानस्य व्यतीयाद् राघवस्य तु ॥ ..... "VII. 89.7

following it up with another,

"अथ दीर्घस्य. कालस्य राममाता यशस्विनी ।

पुत्रपौत्रैः परिवृता कालधर्ममुपागमत् ॥ "VII. 89.11

This goes a step further than even the 'double clock' device. Time, with Vālmiki, is a completely relative phenomenon, totally subjective. Poetic appreciation is all. The clock will go slow or fast; time is flexible enough to adjust itself to the psychology of the reader and to the demands of the poetic appreciation.

The above use of double clock timing has befooled even a connoisseur of Rāmāyaṇa like Bhavabhūti. He opens the Uttararāmacarita with the famous promise of Rāma in response to warning advice of Vasiṣṭha contained in Śloka: 1.11mentioning *'Navam ca rājyam'* just before Sītā's exile. Surprisingly, the great poet follows it up with the Śloka.

पुरा यत्र स्रोतः पुलिनमधुना तत्र सरितां
विपर्यासं यातो घनविरलभावः क्षितिरुहाम् ।
बहोर्दृष्टं कालादपरमिव मन्ये वनमिदम् । etc. 2.27 a-c

And Lava-Kuśa have reached the twelfth year only of their life अद्य खल्वायुष्मतो कुशलवयोर्द्वादशस्य जन्मसंवत्सरस्य संख्यामङ्गलग्रन्थिरभिवर्तते । (Suddhā Viṣkambhaka of Act III ibid). We just do not know how to reconcile the above Ślokas in question. The latter must necessarily presuppose a time gap of at least hundreds of years, if not thousands, between the original visit and this second visit to Daṇḍakāraṇya. Just like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, no less a great poet, seems to confuse the two traditions of Vālmiki's interpretations- northern and southern to tie himself in knots. Or, his was also an experiment 'double clock 'technique' though less succesful than Shakespeare's.

(III)

Coming to the unity of theme, we may refer to the report of the Rāmāyaṇa workshop, where the question of the unity of the two parts of Rāmāyaṇa has been discussed in detail from the thematic angle. One important example, we add here .

Some critics have castigated the *Kāka* episode of Sundarakāṇḍa as an interpolation for the only reason that it is not backed up by its narration in its chronological place. Well, Vālmiki had best logical reasons and finest artistic grounds for not doing so because except Rāma and Siṭā no body else knew this episode and it is best *abhijñāna*. Apart from them, we will

show here that it just could not fit in with the strict thematic discipline exhibited by the poet through out his work.

If the event had taken place before Bharata's meeting with Rāma, a detailed description of it before Bharata's arrival (like that in Appendix: I, No. 26, Cr. Ed). would have shattered the thematic unity of *Bharata-carita*, lessenning very much the intense poignancy of the narrative. Some vernacular Rāmāyaṇas have described it after Rāma's arrival at *Citrakūṭa*, but before Sumanta's return to Ayodhyā. It must have pained the delicate poet to describe this romantic scene while Daśaratha's body was still waiting for proper disposal.

In case the event has taken place after Bharata's departure there was another difficulty. The theme of Rāma's exile in the forest being appart of devine plan to release the Ṛṣis from the terrors of Rākṣasas by killing of Rāvaṇa was introduced in the Citrakūṭa conference itself. Vālmiki works upon it immediately after Bharata's departure (vide 2417*, which was a part of the arche type-text, (supra), the accepted text II. 108. 14-17 presents it slightly differenty). This theme is very quickly developed to its fullness by the time we reach Sargas : 5& 6 of Araṇyakāṇḍa. This fast moving development of the central theme would have been hampered and throne out of focus by introducing the leisurely romantic *Kāka* episode in between. Certainly, this we can not expect from the Master of Unities whose strict thematic discipline could not accomodate such miscellaneous *Līlā* episodes, as *Kāka* episode was in the story developing with a certain specific idea

Thus it is failure on the parts pf the critics to appreciate the sensitivities of Vālmiki when they declare that Sarga: 35 of Sundarakāṇḍa to be spurious. Let not intemperate crude scissors work upon the delicate texture of Rāmāyaṇa, and Kāka-episode be better left where it is in its original sublimity.

III 1. THE PROBLEM

1. In the above purspective we shall now come to our original question raised at the very outset. The most peculiar thing about the two part Rāmāyaṇa is the ending of the first. It ends with the 97th Sarga of Yuddhakāṇḍa at the death of Rāvaṇa. The second part opens with wailing wives of Rāvaṇa (Sarga: 98) and the lamentation of Mandodarī in Sarga: 99. No Rāmāyaṇa in the purāṇa-itihāsa or the Kāvya tradition has this

ending or a Kāṇḍa break here. Rāvaṇa's death might be an apt Sarga ending but certainly not a Book or Kāṇḍa ending. Let us see if we can explain it from the point of view of any of the three unities discussed above.

From the point of view of the unity of time lamentation of wives of Rāvaṇa was an event of the same day and so connected with it that to separete the two in two books offend the very notion of unity of time. From the point of view of unity of place the two events certainly took place at the battle field itself and are inseparable. Demands of unity of theme also require the death, lamentation and even the last rites to be included in the same book. Even the coronation of Vibhīṣaṇa could also have gone with it, as the theme of death of a king is complete only with the coronation of the next. A wider concept of unity of place will require the whole of the story at Lañkā to be included in one Kāṇḍa. Thus, we find the Vālmikian ending of the book *Paulaṣtyavadha* is justified by neither of the three concepts of unity; rather it offends each of them.

Let us see how the Rāmāyaṇa tradition has treated this ending. It is no wonder that no tradition has been able to digest it. Every one has rejected and tried to find new ending. Not unexpectedly all of them in search for an apt ending worked on the idea of the three unities.

Ms V_1 has mitigated the oddity by extending the Yuddhakāṇḍa upto the last rites of Ravaṇa (Appendix: I. 70). Clearly, it has unity of time in its mind. The Marāṭhī Rāmāyaṇa Rama-vijaya takes up the story upto Vibhīṣaṇa's coronation in Lañkā (Yuddhakāṇḍa) which is justified from the point of view of thematic unity. He even included in it Sītā's meeting with Rāma after fire ordeal and very justifiably so. Redemption of Sītā, abducted by Rāvaṇa, was the true fructification of *Rāvaṇavadha*.

From the point of view of unity of place, the strict application of it leads to very interesting results. Rāma boards *Puṣpaka-vimāna* in Lankā, so, it had to be included in Lanka. Flying back he lands at Bharadvāja's hermitage and then in Ayodhyā. Now, this landing at either place can not be in Lankākāṇḍa, if one is two scrupulous. The Indian mind, with its rigorous logic conceived a very nowel device to end the Lañkākāṇḍa with Rāma in Puṣpaka itself flying in the air. Pravarasena ends his work *Rāvanavaho* with Rāma approaching Ayodhyā. quite probably he just followed some texts tradition ending the Yuddhakāṇḍa at sarga: 111, its last Śloka being:–

ततस्तु तां पाण्डरहर्म्यमालिनीं विशालकक्ष्यां गजवाजिसंकुलाम् ।
पुरीमयोध्यां ददृशुः प्लवङ्गमाः पुरीं महेन्द्रस्य यथामरावतीम् ॥

VI. III. 31

The word *Rāma-prāpti* in the colophons of Ś D 8.12 at the Sarga seems to be echoed in *Pattah* in the Śloka of Pravarasena. Kālidasa continues the story to end his Sarga: at the point just when Rāma takes off from Laṅkā[3].

Tulasīdāsa ends his Lañkākāṇḍa with Rāma meeting Guha at Śṛṅgaverapura. But the Uttarakāṇḍa opens with the Śloka: -

केकीकण्ठाभनीलं सुरवरविलसद्विप्रपादाब्जचिह्नं
शोभाढ्यं पीतवस्त्रं सरसिजनयनं सर्वदा सुप्रसन्नम् ।
पाणौ नाराचचापं कपिनिकरयुतं बन्धुना सेव्यमानं
नौमीड्यं जानकीशं रघुवरमनिशं **पुष्पकारूढरामम्** ॥

Ūttara Kāṇḍa verse 1

Where we find him in Puṣpaka, high in the sky approaching Ayodhyā, followed by later description of his showing monkeys his Ayodhyā. Thus it is implied that Rāma had boarded the plane before the opening of the Uttarakāṇḍa. Apparently he made some modification of the original idea contained in the last Śloka: VI. 111. 31 feeling that Prayāga might be too far a place for a clear detailed view of Ayodhyā. This, Rāma in flying Puṣpaka, ending of the Kāṇḍa showed that both Tulasīdāsa and Pravarasena must had had some common source to draw upon, as it is not very likely that Tulasīdāsa could have borrowed from the Prākṛta poet directly. And that common source could have been no better than VI. 111. 31 of the Rāmāyaṇa cited above

It is true that none of the Mss of Critical edition has this ending, but a wider search of Mss may confirm the idea.

The above shifting of Yuddha Kāṇḍa found its final culmination at the coronation of Rāma. Probably this was borrowed from the purāṇic and Mahābhārata tradition of *Rāmakathā*. Even the fastidious critics could not find fault with it as it satisfied the demands of all the three unities. This classifies the history of Rāma in clear cut two parts that of fourteen years of his exile, and that which belong to the remaining later

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3. Vide, Proto -Kāṇḍa Structure of Rāmāyaṇa in Sanskrit Kāvyas, by G.S. Rai Purāṇa XXX VII. No 1.

years. Unity of theme is satisfied, as main story of the first part of the arche-typal Rāmāyaṇa started with preparation of Rāma's coronation. Its fulfilment was possible only at the present ending of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. The unity of place school was also appeased as the story starts with Ayodhyā and finds the final consummation back again there.

It is clear by the above that the present tradition of Yuddhakāṇḍa ending at coronation is of comparatively let textual stage. It came to become most popular as it could satisfy all.

Thus we find Vālmīki completely isolated from subsequent text tradition and even from other Rāmāyaṇa tradition to defend his ending of *Paulastyavadha* at sarga 97. No doubt, the ending at Sarga : 97 is the greatest unconformity in the whole Rāmāyaṇa tradition being considered monstrous by all and sundry. The question remains though, why he did so. Could not it be that great Master of Unities could not see the oddity, which any critic, even a layman can see. The very preposterousness of it inspires us to search for the clue–to search for some notion of unity. It is a challenge worth taking.

III-2 : THE SOLUTION

1. A new concept : Trying to fathom the unfathomable depths of the poets mind we propose a new concept of poetic unity which the poet had in his mind. And this we can call the spiritual unity. It is surprising that the critics of the later poetic works did not get any occasion to unravel this unity which in the view of Vālmiki overrides all the other unities. We can only point out here that at least Tulasīdāsa had some concept of it. The story of Rāma in his Uttarakāṇḍa ends at *Dohā* : 51 and the rest of the matter, forming nearly sixty per cent of the text, is constituted of different themes. Putting them all together under the Kāṇḍa can be explained by only envoking the concept of spiritual unity. But, here we will confine ourselves only to explaining the apparent odd ending of the *Paulastyavadha* and unity of the two part Rāmāyaṇa.

2. Uttarakāṇḍa Problem : The protogonists of present Uttarakāṇḍa being interpolation have to face a great hurdle, and failing to cross to it, they just try to evade it. The arguments based on *Rākṣasacarita* being unvālmikian is of no avail. On pure text-critical grounds, it alongwith *Hanumaccarita*, is a palpable later interpolation in the original *Rāmābhyudaya*. There are sufficient materials in the Mss traditions itself,

contained in critical apparatus of the Baroda edition to prove it. Thus, not being an integral part of the original text, they do not affect the authenticity of the mainstream text of the Rāma's story up to his ascension to the heaven. So, main argument, or rather the sole argument of those who hold the Uttarakāṇḍa to be the interpolation is the divinity of Rāma exhibited in this Kāṇḍa, as also different super natural elements present in it. Unfortunately for the critics, the Sarga : 98 to 117 of the Yuddhakāṇḍa also are full of super natural elements and clear pronouncement of Rāma's divinity. Some critics try to argue that the Sītā's fire ordeal was a later concept, but even that does not explain in the clear enunciation of Rāma's divinity in the *Stutis* of Rama by the gods. Unfortunately again, these texts can not be explained, even by the conjectural higher criticism. Any attempt to cut these portions out will make the text unreadable. More over, the fact of fire ordeal and praise of Rāma by gods is referred to in the later text also (VI.114.43 and VI.112.14-15). The idea of gods' meeting after *Rāvaṇavadha* seems to be rooting in the text as early as Araṇyakāṇḍa (III. 4.22-24) :–

"इहोपयात्यसौ रामो यावन्मां नाभिभाषस्ते
निष्ठां नयतु तावत् तु ततो मां द्रष्टुमर्हति ।
जितवन्तं कृतार्थं च द्रष्टाहमचिरादहम् ॥
कर्म ह्यनेन कर्त्तव्यं महदन्यैः सुदुष्करम् ।
निष्पादयित्वा तत् कर्म ततो मां द्रष्टुमर्हति ॥
अथ वज्री तमामन्त्र्य मानयित्वा च तापसम् । "etc.

The Ślokas have lot of textual variants. We will not go into the question of the correct text, nor we need debate the real purports of these words with Dr. Bulke and the likes. This much is clear that Indra says that 'Rāma' should not' ('and not can not') see me at present". "I wish (myself) see the victorious Rāma". The real, and uncontrovertable, point is that his further meeting has been foreseen and prophessed here and it finds its fulfilment at the time of Sītā's fire ordeal. Thus the meeting of gods with Rāma is a very much integral part of the text rooted in the very story-structure of Rāmāyaṇa. As to the question why Indra did not consider it a proper time "to see Rāma at *Śarabhañga-āśrama*" shall be dealt by us later on.

Thus, the position is that these texts are not separable and no readable Critical text prepared by deleting the lines eulogiging and glorifying Rāma's divinity in the *Rāmābhyudaya* (Sarga : 98-117 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*). If any such attempt is to be made; license will have to be given to re-write these portions according to one's like and dislikes. The end result of such exercise will be independent poetic creations in the name of re-constructing the Vālmikian text, and in variety forming a wide spectrum extending from the likes of the *Meghanādavadha* of Michael Madhusudan Dutta to that of *Sāketa* of Maithili Saran Gupta. There yet remains another question, if we assume that these portions expressing Rāma's divinity in *Rāmābhyudaya-parva* were all later interpolations then why it is that all such interpolations were made only after the death of Rāvaṇa and not before it, unlike in the later Sanskrit and vernacular *Rāmāyaṇas*, where we find Rāma's divinity eulogised through *Stotras* and episodes scattered through out the texts. The interpolations could have done the same very easily in Rāmayaṇa. Why did he then confine himself to the story after the Rāvaṇa's death. Is it also an accident or coincidence ? If so, it does strain on one's credulity.

The above discussion makes it amply clear that even modern scholars have to concede that as for the divinity of Rāma and his spiritual personality is concerned Sargas : 98-117 of The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* present a different milieu than that of the earlier portions of the epic and that their kinship is with to the present Uttarakāṇḍa (minus the Rāvaṇacarita). They are incongruous, thus, in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* by the admission of the modern critics themselves and ought to be grouped with Sargas of the present *Uttarakāṇḍa*. And this is exactly what the original division of the epic does. Thus the spiritual unity of *Rāmābhyudaya* is admitted by the critics themselves. Conversely, reading Sargas : 98-117 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* as is done today, breaks the spiritual unity of the poetry.

We do not agree with the view that the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* between *Ayodhyā* and *Rāvaṇavadha* does not refer to the divinity of Rāma, but there is no doubt that the proclamation of divinity is not so loud and public in this part as in the story after *Rāvaṇavadha*. No doubt there runs a continuous latent and some time not so latent, idea of the divinity of the hero all through the epic. The same, certainly, becomes more patent after the *Rāvaṇavadha*. Thus Rāvaṇavadha has a peculiar position in

Rāmāyaṇa and demarcates the whole poem into two spiritual parts. We shall not join issue with the protogonist of the more fashionable non-divinity school for the first part of our proposition. If their position be correct, then the case for the two part Rāmāyaṇa, demarcated by Rāvaṇavadha, is proved a Fortiorie.

III-3

We have seen above that there are two spiritual levels in the text of Rāmāyaṇa marked by its two portions. The only question now remains that what it had to do with the death of Rāvaṇa and why *Rāvaṇavadha* forms the boundary line dividing the two parts ? A little peep into the Indian tradition will bring the mystery out. We have referred to the *Śarabhañga-āśrama* episode (supra) The question is why Indra refuses to see Rāma then, and promises to see him after his victory. Some scholars have suggested that Indra does not consider Rāma worthy (deserving) or able to see him then. We are left wondering wherefrom this meaning has been derived, "त्वं वाराणसीं गन्तुमर्हसि" has to be normally translated as 'You should go to Vārāṇasī'. Of course, it may be translated as 'You are deserving, worthy, or able, to go Vārāṇasī in some special context. There is nothing some such thing in the present episode. As to ability (or capacity) of Rāma to see Indra, the fact is that he actually does see him going away. As to the worthiness, one may say that a sinful and impure man is not worthy of seeing ordinarily divine beings. In such a case, his impurity or the sin must be removed by some penance, or otherwise, before he becomes worthy. Are we to assume that Rāma became 'purified' by killing Rāvaṇa ? More over as explained above these lines (3.4.22-24) authenticate the later episode of Indra with gods meeting Rāma and their singing his praise in VI.105, and in that episode Rāma is declared to be the Supreme reality much much higher than Indra and there can never be a question of Rāma being not fit for seeing Indra. Some scholars have quoted the above Ślokas (III.4.22-24) as a proof that Rāma was not incarnation. Well, there could hardly have been a more 'funny' logic. These Ślokas connected as they were with VI.105, establish just the contrary.

But now to the original question why Indra did not see Rāma at *Śarabhañga Āśrama* ? The correct text and its correct import is not quite clear. Nevertheless, the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition has no doubt in its mind. The question has been dealt very thoroughly by Tulasīdāsa in a very similar episode (Bālakāṇḍa after Dohā 48). Śiva, accompanied with Pārvatī was

passing through *Daṇḍakāraṇya*. He sees Rāma lamenting and searching for Sītā. He checks his very strong natural temptation to see Rāma then. Curiously, he does not give the obvious reason that doing so would have embrassed Rāma in those circumstances. Rather, he says that by his seeing Rama at that time, the divinity of Rāma would have been revealed to every one, while Rāvaṇa had been granted the 'boon' that none but a man could kill him. Thus Rāma's divinity had to be necessarily concealed before *Rāvaṇavadha*, otherwise Rāvaṇa could well have claimed the immunity granted to him. It was natural that if Śaṁkara (or Indra) would have seen Rāma they would have payed their obeisance to Rāma exposing his divine nature. For the completion (probably the *'niṣṭhā'* mentioned in Śloka : III.4.22) of Rāma's mission called for such a restraint on the parts of gods. Kataka seems to have taken the same view :–

दैवतैः संभाषमाणे मनुष्यभावप्रतीतिभङ्गप्रसङ्गात् । रावणवधश्च मनुष्यभावैकसाध्यः । अतो नायं तद्दर्शनकाल इत्यर्थः । Commentary on Śloka : 22.

The above point can be profitably explored in other commentaries as well. Yet, we will not undertake that exercise here, as it seems to have been well grounded in the hoary tradition. This theory can not be brushed aside by modern scholars as just another example of medieval devotional effervescence as the idea is testified to by the original text itself, antiquity of which can be dated only in millennia as it has been accepted in the Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The academic world should be grateful to Dr. V. Raghvan for drawing our attention to the following Ślokas, and explaining them in their proper perspective. The readers will bear with the long quotation, as we are unable to improve upon the worthy scholar.

"A reference in the *Mahābhārata* to the *Rāmāyaṇa* which requires serious consideration is what occurs in Śalya Parvan (Kumbha 31.10; Critical 30.10). The context is the hiding of Duryodhana in the pond called, ironically, after Dvaipāyana and the Pāṇḍavas going there in search of Duryodhana. Then follows a series of verses by Kṛṣṇa on how in the past several Asuras and Rākṣasas who had adopted Māyā had been killed by adopting the same method of Māyā (Kriyābhyudaya or Kriyāyoga); and after citing Indra killing several Daityas and *Dānavas*, Vāmana subduing Bali, the killing of Hiranyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāma killing Rāvaṇa and all his followers is thus mentioned :–

तथा पौलस्त्यतनयो रावणो नाम राक्षसः
रामेण निहतो राजन् सानुबन्धः सहानुगः
क्रियया योगमास्थाय तथा त्वमपि विक्रम ।

It should not be understood from this that Rāma, the exempler of *Satya* and *Dharma*, swerved in any manner from the norms of heroic warfare; what is meant is the very basic and special means that the Lord, Himself the speaker here in his *Avatāra* as Kṛṣṇa, had to adopt device to do away with these *Asuras* and *Rākṣasas*, each one whon had protected himself and his life by some special boons gained by his penances. Thus for killing Hiraṇyakaśipu the Lord had to manifest himself as neither man nor animal, at neither day nor night and neither within a place nor without. So also Rāvaṇa who had secured the boon of life-immunity from Devas and all other categories of beings, had ignored Man as beneath his notice and the Lord had to come down as Man to kill Rāvaṇa." (Greater Rāmayaṇa).

Thus we see that in case of *Rāmāvatāra*, as distinct from other incarnations, two-fold Māyā is called upon to play, First, that, by the aid of which the Supreme being assumes human form and human form conceals behind it a higher Reality : that is why an incarnate body is called 'मायामनुष्यं हरिं' and 'मायामानुषरूपिणौ' in *Bhāgavata* and other such scriptural texts. Secondly, in the case of *Rāmāvatāra* Lord had to use another 'device' (Māyā) to conceal the very fact of his having taken a Māyā body or a Līlā form. The situation is something analogous to that schools of Śaṁkara Vedānta which stipulates two levels of *Māyā*–One that works as *Vikṣepa-śakti* and other as *Āvaraṇaśakti*. To explain *Jīvanmukti*, they say that by attaining knowledge the *Āvaraṇa* falls down, while the *'Vikṣepa'* remains which only goes after the fall of the body. Similarly, we can say that the work of Māyā (or Līlā) through which the Supreme being assumes the human body remained all through the life of Rāma, but the *Āvaraṇa*, (the veil) dropped off just at the moment Rāvaṇa was killed as it had fulfilled its purpose. This dramatic moment has been brought out in dazzling brilliance in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vālmīki by ending the first part of his work just at that point.

III-4 : THE 'IMMUNITY THEME IN RĀMĀYAṆA

The explanation given by Mahābhārata is certainly not an imposition of an idea foreign to *Rāmāyaṇa* It was implied in Vālmiki's text itself

which was before the author of Mahābhārata, who has simply clarified the position in direct and simple words. We dare say that in behind the whole story of Rāvaṇa, his actions and even his psychological reactions, the central idea which runs through out the text is :–

a) Rāvaṇa was a great hero and was very conscious of his powers.

b) He was *'avadhya'* even by gods, his only achilles' heel were men and monkeys who alone could kill him. Rāvaṇa was aware of it and even the world at large new this fact.

c) Rāma was a super man and the fact was admitted even by his opponents in no ambiguous term as testified to by unimpeachably unanimous texts of the epic. So the only thing that could come in his way of killing Rāvaṇa was his divinity.

That the whole story has been spun around this line is amply clear by the thematic development as presented by Vālmiki. This can be followed in seven stages :–

i) Rāvaṇa appears for the first time on the stage of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sarga : 30 of *Araṇyakāṇḍa* receiving the report from Śūrpaṇakhā. His grandeur, vallour, invincibility–all have been brought out in choicest words, but the sting lies in the tail. After all this eloquence Vālmiki adds :–

अभयं यस्य संग्रामे मृत्युतो मानुषादृते

($Ś_1$ $\bar{N}_1$ $D_{1.3}$ M_2 अवश्यं समरे ($Ś_1$ $D_{1.2}$ राक्षसैः) घोरं वध्यं मानुषवानरैः ($Ś_1$ $D_{1.2}$ M_2 संग्रामे न तु भानुषैः)

ii) The poet peaks up the point again in *Sundarakāṇḍa*, where Hanumat is taken to his court. Again, the same dazzling brilliance of his personality, but–the same 'but'–here again. Hanumat had already convinced Rāvaṇa of his 'super-monkey' valour, *Parākrama* and *Prabhāva* (V. 46.9b). He had no doubt by now of his super personality :–

नह्यहं तं कपिं मन्ये कर्मणा प्रतितर्कयन् (V.44. 7cd)
सर्वथा तन्महद्भूतं महाबलपरिग्रहः

Even to the extent that he hesitates to expose Indrajit to risk after fight with Hanumat and sends him only as part of an avoidable duty (V.46.11). Thus the first question put to Hanumat by Prahasta on behalf of Rāvaṇa is that whether he was Kubera, Varuṇa, or Yama in disguise, sent by Indra or Viṣṇu as a spy. In reply Hanumat does admit his super powers (V.48.13-14), but denies any association with gods or divinity (Śl.10) and claims to be mere monkey :–

जातिरेव मम त्वेषा वानरोऽहमिहागतः

sent by a man of clan of Raghu (V.48.16). Immediately, going on offensive he 'threatens' Rāvaṇa that neither Sugrīva nor Rāma were divine; they were just a monkey and a man respectively and it was just not possible for Rāvaṇa to protect his life from them :–

तस्मात् प्राणपरित्राणं कथं राजन् करिष्यसि

(V.49. 27cd)

Further he clearly says that even Indra doing evil to Rāma could not be happy.

अपकुर्वन् हि रामस्य साक्षादपि पुरंदरः ।
न सुखं प्राप्नुयादन्यः किं पुनस्त्वद्विधो जनः ॥

(V.49.32)

This threat is just the next development of the 'seed' (idea) shown in earlier Śloka

iii) Rāvaṇa, thus warned and threatened tries to ignore all this with apparent disdain as he prepares for the battle. Psychologically speaking, superiority complex is just natural and internal reaction of inherent inferiority complex; especially while presenting a public posture. So in presence of his people he chides Mālyavat considering him *'hīna'* inferior and takes a 'who cares' attitude towards 'mere men and monkeys':–

रक्षसामीश्वरं मां च देवतानां भयंकरम् ।
हीनं मां मन्यसे केन अहीनं सर्वविक्रमैः ॥ (VI.27.5)

iv) Students of Tulasīdāsa often question why the warriors of Lañkā did not make a consorted charge and instead came out one by one to be killed at the hands of Rāma and his monkeys. The fact is that this strategy was tried and ended in a demoralising defeat. Infuriated at the death of his Commander-in-Chief Prahasta, Rāvaṇa throwing all cautions to the winds, himself lead the whole army with great warriors including Indrajit :–

"सोहं रिपुविनाशाय विजयायाविचारयन्
स्वयमेव गमिष्यामि रणशीर्षं तदद्भुतम्" ॥ VI. 47.6

This was the mother of all battles in Lañkā and sealed the fate of Lañka-war. As can be expected Hanumat took the earliest opportunity to

face Rāvaṇa and as a part of calculated straltegy first of all he tries to break his will to fight. By bullying and demoralising him he comes to his favourite theme, the well known weakness of Rāvaṇa :–

देवदानवगन्धर्वा यक्षाश्च सह राक्षसैः ।
अवध्यत्वात् त्वया भग्ना वानरेभ्यस्तु ते भयम् ॥

V) The key battle of sarga : 47 in crushing personal defeat finds a totally shocked and broken Rāvaṇa brooding over, inspite of himself the loathesome and fateful challenge thrown up by a man, and not a god. He is honest enough to admit to his ministers candidly the coming prospect :-

यत्समानो महेन्द्रेण मानुषेणास्मि निर्जितः । । (VI. 48.5 cd)
इदं तद् ब्रह्मणो घोरं वाक्यं मामभ्युपस्थितम् ।
मानुषेभ्यो विजानीहि भयं त्वमिति तत्तथा ॥
देवदानवगन्धर्वैर्यक्षराक्षसपन्नगैः ।
अवध्यत्वं मया प्राप्तं मानुषेभ्यो न याचितम् ॥
(VI. 48. 6-7)

It is this realisation that guides the future strateigy of the war. Rāvaṇa now avoides altogether any personal confrontation with Rāma and sends his other commanders one by one, for all to perish.

It will be uncharitable to assume that it was out of cowardice that Rāvaṇa sent his dear Indrajit and other sons, brothers and relations to fight, sittng himself say in his castle. He did so, because he thoguht they had better chance against 'men and monkeys' being not haunted by the 'curse'. Vālmīki exhibits his subtle psychologcal appreciation of the mental state of Rāvaṇa, To him, by now, the *Varadāna* of Brahman had become a 'curse' in disguise because he is to be killed at the hand of Rāma by whom he had already been overwhelmed (VI. 48.2,3).

मातङ्ग इव सिंहेन गरुडेनेव पन्नगः ।
अभिभूतोऽभवद् राजा राघवेण महात्मना ॥
ब्रह्मदण्डप्रकाशानां विद्युत्सदृशवर्चसाम्
स्मरन् राघवबाणानां विव्यथे राक्षसेश्वरः ॥ (VI. 48. 2-3).

This idea, patent now, was latent perhaps in his mind even earlier. In the *Sundarakāṇḍa* he sent Indrajit to battle, after the demise of

Akṣayakumāra. While normally a reader would not find anything questionable in this, it is Rāvaṇa himself who is, it seems in two minds. He suggests that he himself ought to have gone to fight, but takes refugse under the *Rājadharma* .

न खल्वियं मतिः श्रेष्ठा यत्त्वां संप्रेषयाम्यहम् ।
इयं च राजधर्माणां क्षत्रस्य मतिर्मता ॥ (IV. 46. 11).

Apparently, this is the conscious negative echo of his unconscious fear. This dorment fear seems to have guided his decision to abduct Sītā stealthily in stead of winning her in a straight battle. It is supported by the fact that Śūrpaṇakhā had spoken to him of all conquering super human valour of Rāma in no uncertain terms and substantiated by the solid fact of killing of Khara-Dūṣaṇa. That the poet did appreciate the situation that way is hinted by his reminding the reader of the 'boon-cum-curse' at that very psychologically critical juncture (supra).

vi) The climax is reached by Sarga : 81 which needs to be appreciated, as *Sargas:* 47 and 81 are the too psychological water-shades in the series of Lañkā-war. The monkeys had heard of the valour of Rāma in the *Janasthāna* battle. They might have been curious to see it themselves. Unfortunately, Rāma was never challenged seriously to exhibit his full prowess. He also might have been aware that exhibition of that ferrocity might unnerve the inhabitants of Lañkā and give rise to a call for surrender ending only in release of Sītā and not the destruction of the Rākṣasas, a scourge to the humanity at large. But with the death of Meghanāda there was no fear of Rāvaṇa surrendering as disperate he had lost the will to live. So, now, to shorten up the proceedings, Rāma lets loose his devastating fury on the Rākṣasa army giving a demonstration, as it is, to the monkey of his reputed war-dance of *Janasthāna*, With due humility, he points out to Sugrīva

अब्रवीच्च तदा रामः सुग्रीवं प्रत्यनन्तरम् ।
एतदस्त्रबलं दिव्यं मम वा त्र्यम्बकस्य वा ॥ VI. 81.34

The result was as expected. A loud cry arose from every home changed into hearth in Lañkā for Rāvaṇa to surrender, the *"Jivite-nirāsaḥ"* folk face was observing the inevitable writing on the wall :–

'न देवा न च गन्धर्वा न पिशाचा न राक्षसाः ।

उपसृष्टं परित्रातुं शक्ता रामेण संयुगे ॥ '(VI. 82.27)

Vālmiki, giving the reason of this utter helplessness of the masses in their own words, reveals the hurdle and the plan behind *Paulastyavadha* controlling the whole thing of the first part of the epic :-

'पितामहेन प्रीतेन देवदानवराक्षसैः । रावणस्याभयं दत्तं मानुषेभ्यो न याचितम् ।
तदिदं मानुषान्मन्ये प्राप्तं निःसंशयं भयम् । जीवितान्तकरं घोरं रक्षसां रावणस्य च ॥

VI. 82.29-30

vii) the final denouement, the *Paulastyavadha* itself, and the necessity for the overt human guise of Rāma, comes in *Sarga*; 97. Hence after no Rāvaṇa, and no'device' (or Māyā) to suppress the real personality of Rāma. The poets muse is now free to sing the glory of Rāma in its full glorification reverberating earth and sky. It is very clear that from the first appearance of Rāvaṇa in *Araṇyakāṇḍa* upto his death is one great saga of supression of Rāma's divinity to take *Paulastyavadha* possible. The clear intention of the poet is obscured, if ever only because of the later redactors failing to grasp the significance of the original ending of *Paulastyavadha* at Sarga: 97 of *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. It is the duty of the academic world to restore the same.

IV IMPLICATIONS

Following implications of the above analysis are inevitable : –

i. While the modern fashionable elitist view is that in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma was a just common man bereft of any divinity, the poet himself seems to be 'obsessed', if we be permitted to use the word, with the idea of divinity of Rāma and had even planned the thematic structure in two parts of his epic accordingly. So, the modern scholarship has been moving just in the direction opposite to that intended by the poet. It throws up a challenge to all of us. Are we bold enough to admit our mistakes and take a full U turn or rather complete back turn ? Are we equal to the occasion? The question haunts.

ii Vālmīki has disregarded the three unities (of time, place and action) in favour of spiritual unity There can be two reasons fot it. Borrowing the terminology of Grammar it can be said that the spiritual unity is *Antarañga* (essential or internal). while the other

unities are *Bahirañga* (external or formal). Secondly, the poet was aware that what he was writing was not an ordinary story at purily human plane, but a spiritual story at divine plane. Consequently, the other unities had to give way to the spiritual unity.

iii In pursuance of the above plan, in the *Paulastyavadha* part, the divinity of Rāma was intentionally played in a low key and was kept comparatively latent, though never in doubt.

iv. In the *Rāmabhyudaya* part, after the very moment at which Rāvaṇa was killed the divinity of Rāma was publically and most authentically proclaimed. The whole text of *Rāmābhyudaya* upto the Rām's ascension to the Heaven flows on a higher spiritual plane, providing thereby another justification for the alternate name *'Uttarakāvya'* for the second part of the work" तत्सर्वं उत्तरे सर्वतो विशिष्टे काव्ये निबबन्ध" (Tilaka on I.3. 29d,. Cr. Ed.).

v. The *Abhyudaya Sargas:* 98 - 116 of the present *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (free of Interpolations) stand on the same footing, Being governed by the same rule of the spiritual unity, they are a fit case for the operation of the *paribhāṣā* rule *'Eka-Yoga-nirdiṣṭānāṁ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha va nivṛthin'* (*Paribhāṣenduśekhara*). They float or sink together. If the later is an interpolation, so also must be the former, if the former is accepted there is no reason not to accept the later.

It will be a new landmark in the *Rāmāyaṇa* study if the *Rāmābhyudaya* (and the two part division) is restored to its pristine glory which well herald a new understanding of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is high time that Baroda oriental Institute itself should take up the work. In bringing out such a *Critical Edition* of the *Rāmābhyudaya* some obvious defficiencies of the present edition also can be remedied. A better, wider, and comprehensive scientific sampling of the Mss. taking help of more sources, is an urgent necessity; A review of some of the principles of editing giving importance to all the recensions and subrecensions and all this is urgently called for. After completing this enterprise, we may look forward to an edition of even *Paulastyavadha* as well, which, may or may not contain *Kāṇḍa* division, or even *Sarga* division.

We have tried to understand and explain the original part-division of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Any other theory. explaining the same in a better way will be very much welcome, and we like to learn.

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वेदेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्*

• महामहोपाध्याय पं. गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

[In this article it is shown that the Purāṇa is already mentioned in the different parts of the Veda as being equally divine in origin and authoritative along with the Vedas themselves, and that thus the description of Purāṇa as the fifth Veda is justified.]

भगवती श्रुतिरपि पुराणानां पञ्चमवेदत्वं स्वयमाचष्टे । तत्र प्रथममथर्वसंहितायाः पञ्चदशं काण्डमेवालोच्यताम् । तद्धि व्रात्यमहिमप्रतिपादकमखिलमपि काण्डम् । काण्डारम्भादेव प्रथमेऽनुवाके प्रथमे पर्यायसूक्ते व्रात्यस्य प्रजापतिप्रेरकत्वं चाम्नाय, व्रात्यस्य नीललोहितत्वम्, ईशानमहादेवपदाभिलप्यतां च प्रतिपाद्य, द्वितीये पर्यायसूक्ते तस्य व्रात्यपदाभिधेयस्य महादेवस्य उत्थाय प्राच्यादिषु चतसृषु दिक्षु चलनम्, बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां साम्नाम्, आदित्यविश्वदेववरुणादीनां देवानाम्, ऋषीणाम्, यज्ञयजमानादीनां च तत्तद्दिक्षु तदनुगमनमभिधाय, अन्यदपि बहुतरं तस्य परिकरमुक्त्वा तद्विनिन्दकस्य हानिम्, स्तोतुश्च तत्तत्पदार्थसम्पत्तिमभिष्टुत्य, तृतीये पर्यायसूक्ते देवसमर्पितायामासन्द्यां तस्य महादेवस्यारोहणम्, ऋग्यजुरादीनां वेदानाम्, साम्नाम् ग्रीष्मवसन्तादीनामृतूनां चासन्द्या अङ्गत्वं प्रख्याय, चतुर्थे पर्यायसूक्ते वसन्तादीनामृतूनां बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां साम्नां च पृथक् पृथक् प्राच्यादिषु दिक्षु तद्गोप्तृत्वं व्याख्याय, पञ्चमे भव-शर्व-रुद्राद्या अष्टौ प्रसिद्धा रुद्रमूर्तयः पृथक् पृथग् दिक्षु तस्य इष्वासाः (शरप्रक्षेप्तारः) इति निरूप्य, तत्रैव प्राच्यादिभिश्चतसृभिर्दिग्भिः सह ध्रुवा-ऊर्ध्वा-अन्तर्देश इत्यपि दिश उक्त्वा, षष्ठे पर्यायसूक्ते (अथ० १५ का०, १ अनु०, ६ सूक्त) तस्य व्रात्यापरपर्यायस्य महतो देवस्य ध्रुवायां दिशि चलनम्, तत्र भूम्यग्न्यादीनां तदनुगमनम्, ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि चलनम्, तत्र ऋतसत्यसूर्यचन्द्रनक्षत्रादीनां तदनुगमनं च निरूप्य तदनन्तरमाम्नातम्—

स उत्तमां दिशमनुव्यचलत् ॥ ७ ॥

तमृचश्च सामानि च यजूंषि च ब्रह्म चानुव्यचलन् ॥ ८ ॥

ऋचां च वै ससाम्नां च यजुषां च ब्रह्मणश्च प्रियं धाम भवति, य एवं वेद ॥ ९ ॥

स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत् ॥ १० ॥

तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन् ॥ ११ ॥

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* Purāṇa, Vol. I, No. 1 (July 1959) pp. 21-30

इतिहासस्य च स वै पुराणस्य च गाथानां एक च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति, य एवं वेद ॥ १२ ॥ इति ।

अग्रेऽपि परमाद्यासु दिक्षु चलनमनुचलनं च सुदूरपर्यन्तमाम्नातम् । इह व्रात्यस्य वैदिकं रहस्यमतिविस्तृतत्वादप्रकृतत्वाच्च न व्याख्यायते । न चात्र सायणमाधवादीनामाप्तानां भाष्यमप्युपलभ्यते । केवलमत्रैतावदेव प्रतिपाद्यं यद् ऋग्यु:साम्नां ब्रह्मपदप्रतिपाद्यस्याथर्ववेदस्य च यथात्र व्रात्यानुगमनं श्रुतं तथैवेतिहासपुराणयोरपीति वेदैः सह परिगणनात् पञ्चमवेदत्वं तयोर्भगवत्या श्रुत्यैव व्यञ्जितम् । व्रात्यपदेनात्र रुद्रावतारः परमात्मा विवक्षित इति तु स्फुटमेव । 'व्रात्यो वा इदमग्र आसीत्' इति हि पैप्पलादसंहितायां सर्वेभ्यः पूर्वभावित्वं निर्दिष्टम् । रुद्रस्य नीललोहितकुमारत्वञ्च पुराणेषु ख्यापितमेव । "नमो व्रात्याय" इति रुद्राध्यायेऽपि श्रूयते । ततश्च अत्रोपनिबद्धदेवादीनां वेदपुराणादीनां च तदनुगमनं युक्तमेवेति ॥

छान्दोग्योपनिषदि च (७ प्रपा०, १ ख०) नारदसनत्कुमारसंवादे स्पष्टं श्रूयते–'अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदः, तँ होवाच, यद्वेत्थ तेन मोपसीद, ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यामि' इति ॥ १ ॥

'स होवाच–ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम्, इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमम्, वेदानां वेदम्, पित्र्यं राशिम्, दैवं निधिम्, वाकोवाक्यम्, एकायनम्, देवविद्याम्, ब्रह्मविद्याम्, भूतविद्याम्, क्षत्रविद्याम्, नक्षत्रविद्याम्, सर्पदेवयजनविद्याम् एतद् भगवोऽध्येमि ॥ २ ॥ सोहं भगवो मन्त्रविदेवास्मि, नात्मवित्' इत्यादि ॥

अत्र हि स्पष्टमितिहासपुराणयोः पञ्चमत्वम्–अर्थात् पञ्चमवेदत्वमभिहितम् । अग्रेऽप्यस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे–

'नाम वा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेद आथर्वणश्चतुर्थः इतिहासपुराणः पञ्चमो वेदानां वेदः' इत्यादि ॥ ७-१-१४ ॥

तदग्रेऽपि–

'वाग्वाव नाम्नो भूयसी, वाग्वा ऋग्वेदं विज्ञापयति यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम्, इतिहासपुराणम् पञ्चमम्, वेदानां वेदम्' इत्यादि (७-२-१) । एवमभ्यासेनेतिहासपुराणानां वेदेषु पञ्चमत्वमत्र श्रुतम् ॥

इह केचित् वेदानां मध्ये पञ्चमं वेदम्–इति वा, वेदानां चतुर्णामपि वा वेदम्-ज्ञानसाधनम्-प्रकाशकम्-इति चेतिहासपुराणस्यैव विशेषणम् 'वेदानां वेदम्' इति व्याचक्षते । अन्ये तु महान्तो 'वेदानां वेदम्' इति व्याकरणं गृह्णन्ति । यथा तथा वाऽस्तु–पञ्चमत्वं त्विह स्पष्टं भूयसा श्रुतं नोपलपनीयमेव । तच्च पञ्चमत्वं वेदेष्वेव, उपस्थित्वादिति पञ्चमवेदत्वं स्फुटं ख्यापयति श्रुतिः । अश्वमेधप्रकरणे च शतपथब्राह्मणे (१३ का०, ४ अध्या०, ३ ब्राह्म०) पारिप्लवाख्याने प्रथमादिदिनेषु ऋग्यजुरादिवेदानाम्,

सर्पदेवयजनविद्यानां च व्याख्यानं विधाय अष्टमेऽह्नि इतिहासव्याख्यानम्, नवमेऽह्नि पुराणाख्यानं च विहितम्, तत्र चेतिहासपुराणविशेषणत्वेन वेदशब्दः स्पष्टमुपात्तः–

'अथाष्टमेऽहन् एवमेवैतास्विष्टिषु संस्थितासु एषैवाऽवृद-अध्वर्युविति ह वै, होतरित्येवाध्वर्युः, मत्स्यः सामवेदो राजेत्याह, तस्योदकेचरा विशस्त इम आसत इति मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यहनश्चापि समेता भवन्ति, तानुपदिशति इतिहासो वेदः सोऽयमिति कश्चिदितिहासमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः संप्रेष्यति, न प्रक्रमान् जुहोति । (१२ क०) ॥

अथ नवमेऽहन् एवमेवैतास्विष्टिषु संस्थितासु एषैवावृद-अध्वर्यविति ह वै होतरित्येवाध्वर्युः, तार्क्ष्यो वै पश्यतो राजेत्याह, तस्य वयांसि विशस्तानीमान्यान्यासत इति वयांसि च वयोविधिकाश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति, तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किञ्चित् पुराणमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः संप्रेष्यति, न प्रक्रमान् जुहोति (१३ क०) ॥

एतदग्रे च साम्नां वचनमुक्तम् । अयमत्र क्रमः–पूर्वं सावित्रीस्तिस्र इष्टीः कृत्वा यदाश्वमेघे अश्वो विमुक्तः, तदनन्तरं यज्ञमण्डपे देवसदनाख्ये यत्कर्तव्यं भवति–तत् शतपथे त्रयोदशस्य काण्डस्य चतुर्थाध्याये तृतीये ब्राह्मणे समाम्नातम् । तदुक्तमध्यायारम्भ एव–"प्रमुच्याश्वं दक्षिणेन वेदिं हिरण्मयं कशिपूपस्तृणाति (कशिपुः मृदु आसनम्) तस्मिन् होता उपविशति, दक्षिणेन होतारं हिरण्मये कूर्चे यजमानः, (कूर्चः सपादमासनम् पीठभूतम्) दक्षिणतः ब्रह्मा च उद्गाता च । हिरण्मय्याः कशिप्वाः पुरस्तात् प्रत्यङ् अध्वर्युः-हिरण्यमये वा कूर्चे हिरण्मये वा फलके (पादरहितमासनम् फलकम्) समुपविष्टेषु अध्वर्युः–संप्रेष्यति (होतारं प्रेरयतीत्यर्थः) इत्यादि । एतत्सर्वं भगवता कात्यायनेनापि विवृतं श्रौतसूत्रेषु (अश्वमेघप्रकरणे) दक्षिणतो वेदैर्हिरण्मयेषूपविशन्ति ॥ १८ ॥ अध्वर्युयजमानौ कूर्चयोः ॥ १९ ॥ फलकयोर्वा ॥ २० ॥ होतृब्राह्मणोद्गातारः कशिपुषु ॥ २१ ॥ होतर्भूतान्याचक्ष्व, भूतेष्विमं यजमानमध्यूहैति पारिप्लवं प्रेष्यति ॥ २२ ॥ ह वै होतरिति प्रतिगृणाति" इत्यादिना । अत्र अध्वर्युणा प्रैषे कृते होता सर्वान् तत्तद्वेदादि व्याख्यानं श्रावयति । इदमेव पारिप्लवाख्यानमुच्यते । दश दिनानीदं व्याख्यानं प्रत्यहं प्रचलति । प्रत्यहं तिस्रः सावित्र्य इष्टयः क्रियन्ते । तत्र षट्सु दिवसेषु व्याख्यानानन्तरं प्रक्रमहोमोऽपि विधीयते, सप्तमादिषु चतुर्षु दिनेषु तु प्रक्रमहोमो न क्रियते । एवं दशसु दिवसेषु पूर्णेषु पुनरावृत्तिः पुनरावृत्तिः इति संवत्सरपर्यन्तं षट्त्रिंशदावृत्तयः क्रियन्ते । तदुक्तम्–'एतदेव समानमाख्यानम् पुनः पुनः संवत्सरं परिप्लवते । तद्यत् पुनः पुनः परिप्लवते तस्मात् पारिप्लवम् षट्त्रिंशतम् दशाहानाचष्टे' इत्यादि (शतपथ० १३ का०, ४ अ०, ३ ब्रा०, १५ क) प्रत्यहं च ऋत्विग्यजमानातिरिक्ता विभिन्नाः श्रोतारो यज्ञमण्डप आहूयन्ते । यस्याख्यानस्य यो राजा आम्नातस्तत्प्रजाभूताः तदुपयुक्ता एव श्रोतारः तस्मिन् दिने सन्निधाप्यन्ते ॥

तत्र प्रथमे दिने मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजा, तत्प्रजानां मनुष्याणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः अश्रोत्रिया गृहस्थाः श्रोतारः ऋचां व्याख्यानम् । द्वितीये दिने यमो वैवस्वतो राजा तत्प्रजानां पितॄणां

प्रतिनिधिभूताः स्थविराः (वृद्धाः) श्रोतारः यजुषां व्याख्यानम् । तृतीये दिने वरुण आदित्यो राजा, तत्प्रजानां गन्धर्वाणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः शोभना युवानः श्रोतारः अथर्ववेदस्य व्याख्यानम् । पञ्चमे दिन अर्बुदः काद्रवेयः (सर्पः) राजा, तत्प्रजानां सर्पाणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः सर्पविदः (सर्पपालकाः सपेरा इति प्रसिद्धाः) सर्पैः सहिताः श्रोतारः सर्पविद्याया व्याख्यानम् । षष्ठे दिने कुबेरो वैश्रवणो राजा, तत्प्रजानां रक्षसां प्रतिनिधिभूताः पापकृतः सेलगाः (सेलं गायन्ति ये) श्रोतारः, देवयजनविद्याया व्याख्यानम् । सप्तमे दिने असितो धान्वो राजा, तत्प्रजानाम् असुराणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः, कुसीदिनः (कुसीदम्–ऋणरूपेण दत्तानां रूप्यकादीनां वृद्धिं 'व्याजं', इति 'सूद' इति च प्रसिद्धं ये उपजीवन्ति) श्रोतारः माषा प्रतिपादकस्य वेदस्य व्याख्यानम् । अथाष्टमे दिने मत्स्यः सामदो राजा, तत्प्रजानामुदकेचराणां मत्स्यानां प्रतिनिधिभूता मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यघातकाश्च श्रोतारः इतिहासस्य व्याख्यानम् । नवमे दिने तार्क्ष्यो (गरुडः) वैपश्यतो राजा, तत्प्रजानां पक्षिणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः पक्षिणश्च पक्षिविद्यावेत्तारश्च श्रोतारः पुराणस्य व्याख्यानम् । दशमे तु दिने धर्म इन्द्रो राजा, तत्प्रजानां देवानां प्रतिनिधिभूताः प्रतिग्रहवर्जिताः श्रोत्रियाः श्रोतारः साम्नां व्याख्यानमिति । एवं वेदमध्ये व्याख्यानविधानात् "वेदः सोऽयम्" इति स्पष्टं श्रवणाच्च वेदत्वमितिहासपुराणयोरत्र स्पष्टमुक्तम् । उभे चेतिहासपुराणे अशिक्षितप्रायाणामवरजातीयानामवरकर्मरतानामपि चोद्धारके इत्यपि श्रोतृविवरणेन व्यञ्जितम् । अनेनैव श्रोतृविवरणेन न प्रसिद्धवेदभागावितिहासपुराणे-अपि तु ततः पृथगेव वेदपदबोधनीये वेदवदभ्यर्हणीये चेत्यपि स्फुटं व्यञ्जितम् । तत एव वेदानधिकृतानामपि श्रोतृतया इहोपस्थापनम् । वेदज्ञानामृत्विग्यजमानादीनामपि च तच्छ्रवणविधानमित्युभयोपकारकत्वमनयोरितिहासपुराणयोर्व्याख्यातं भवति ॥

तदित्थं ब्राह्मणेषु बहुत्र पञ्चमवेदत्वमितिहासपुराणयोः स्फुटमाम्नातमिति प्रदर्शितम् । न हि ब्राह्मणानि चतुर्णामेव वेदानामन्तर्भूतानि स्वस्यैव पञ्चमत्वमाचक्षीरन्निति ब्राह्मणेभ्यः पृथगेवेतिहासपुराणयोः सत्त्वमेभिः प्रमाणैः साधितं भवति, वेदवदभ्यर्हितत्वञ्च पुराणेति–हासयोः ॥

मन्त्रे च पुराणेतिहासयोरपि वेदैः सहैव परमात्मन उद्भव आम्नायते–

ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।
उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिवि श्रिताः ॥ (अर्थव. ११।७।२४)

अत्र उद्-ऊर्ध्वम्-अर्थात् सर्वेषां भूतभौतिकानामवसाने, शिष्टः उर्वरितः परमात्मा, तस्मादुच्छिष्टात्-परमात्मन ऋगाद्याः सर्वेऽप्युत्पद्यन्ते–इति श्रीमाधवाचार्यप्रभृतयो व्याचक्षते । वैज्ञानिकास्त्वन्वेषणशीला इत्थं वदन्ति यत्किञ्चिदपि पदार्थः परेण भुक्तः पराङ्गतां गतः परस्मिन्ननुप्रविष्ट इति यावत् स्वकीयाद् धनाद्यदा विच्छिद्यते तदा स "उच्छिष्ट" इत्युच्यते । यथा ग्रीष्मे सूर्यातपः स्वसंयोगिषु प्रस्तरादिष्वनुप्रविष्टोऽस्तङ्गतेऽपि सूर्ये स्वघनाद्विच्छिन्नस्तस्मिन् प्रस्तरादावेव स्थितो भवति, तत एव अस्तङ्गतेऽपि सूर्ये तस्मिन्

प्रस्तरादावूष्माऽनुभूयते । यदि तु सोऽयमातपः सूर्यकेन्द्राद्विच्छिन्नो न स्यात् तदा सूर्येण सहैव गच्छेदिति कथं प्रस्तरादावूष्मानुभवसंभवः? सोऽयं भाग ऋग्वेदपरिभाषायां 'प्रवर्ग्य' इत्युच्यते, आथर्वणे च 'उच्छिष्ट' इति परिभाषितः । ततश्चेत्थमत्र सङ्गतिः–रसबलाख्ये द्वे जगतो मूलतत्त्वे–ब्रह्ममायाऽपरपदाभिधेये । तत्र रसो विभुर्नित्यः, बलं तु परिच्छिन्नमपि विनश्वरमपि च संख्यानन्त्याद् व्याप्तिमत् प्रवाहनित्यं च, तत्संबन्धाद्रसोऽपि परिच्छिन्न इवाभाति । तत एव च मितिसाधनाद्बलं मायेत्युच्यते । तस्मिन् परिच्छिन्ने मायाख्ये महाबले यावान् रसभागोऽनुप्रविष्टो भवति–गृहादिष्विवाकाशभागः, स पूर्वोक्तेन प्रकारेण प्रवर्ग्यभूतश्च उच्छिष्टश्च परिभाष्यते । स एव च भवति सर्वजगदुपादानम् इति, तस्मादेव सर्वा सृष्टिराथर्वणे समाम्नाता । अत्र पुरुषसूक्तसंवादोऽपि–

एतावानस्य महिमातो ज्यायाँश्च पूरुषः ।
पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ।। इति ।।

अलमनेनाप्रकृतविचारेण । पुराणानां वेदैः सह तस्मादेव सर्वजगन्मूलादुत्पत्तिरिति स्पष्टमेव मन्त्रे। अत्र च नान्यविशेषणत्वेनोक्तः स्वतन्त्रः पुराणशब्दः पुराणविद्याया एवाभिधायक इति नात्र सन्देहावसरः । बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्स्वपि–

"स यथार्द्रेन्धनाग्नेरभ्याहितत्वात् पृथग् धूमा विनिश्चरन्ति एवं वा अरे अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्–यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासपुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राणि अनुव्याख्यानीनि व्याख्यानानि अस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसित्तानि" । (बृह. २।४।१०) इति महतो भूतस्य परमात्मनो निःश्वासरूपाण्येव वेदाः पुराणानि चाख्यातानि । अयमत्राभिप्रायः–अस्मदादिशरीरे द्विविधास्तावत्क्रियाः समुपलभ्यन्ते–

ज्ञानजन्या भवेदिच्छा इच्छाजन्या कृतिर्भवेत् ।
कृतिजन्यं भवेत्कर्म–

इति न्यायशास्त्रोक्तप्रक्रियया जायमानाः प्रथमाः । पुरुषः प्रथममिन्द्रियादिभिः स्वप्रतिकूलं दंशं वा मशकं वा पुरुषान्तरमेव वा प्रहरन्तं जानाति, ततश्च निवारयेयमेनमिति वा पलायेयेत इति वा इच्छति, इच्छयाऽऽत्मनि यत्नः प्रादुर्भवति, प्रयत्नवदात्मप्रेरणाच्च हस्ते पादे वा क्रिया भवति, यथा दंशादिकं पुरुषान्तरं वा निवारयति ततः पलायितोऽन्यत्र वा गच्छतीति क्रमः सर्वत्रानुभूयते । अपरास्तु क्रिया अनिच्छाकृता एव भवन्ति–यथा हृत्कम्पः, नेत्रनिमीलनम्, श्वासनिर्गमश्चेत्याद्याः । न हि वयं स्वेच्छया प्रयत्नमुत्पाद्य श्वासादिकं प्रेरयामः, अबुद्धिपूर्वकमेव तु सततं क्रमेण ताः क्रियाः स्वभावात् प्रवर्तन्ते । तथैव परमात्मनोऽपि स्वभावादेव वेदपुराणादिकं प्रादुर्भवति–न तु बुद्धिपूर्वकं तदुत्पाद्यत इति निःश्वाससादृश्येन प्रयत्नाजन्यत्वरूपापौरुषेयत्वं च वेदपुराणादीनामभिव्यञ्जितम् । नहीश्वरस्यापि वेदपुराणाद्युत्पादने स्वातन्त्र्यम्, अपि तु नित्यान्येव तानि स्वभावत–स्तस्मात्प्रादुर्भवन्ति इति । यथा च निःश्वासैरेव शरीरस्यात्माधिष्ठितत्वपरिचयः, सर्वथा

निःश्वासनिरोधे हि मृत इत्येवोच्येतेऽखिलैः, तथैव ब्रह्माण्डस्येश्वरशरीरभूतस्य वेदपुराणादिभिरेवेश्वराधिष्ठितत्वनिश्चयः । यदि नाभविष्यन् वेदाः पुराणानि वा, न तर्हि केनाप्येतदधिष्ठाता परमेश्वरः प्रत्यभ्यज्ञास्यत । वेदपुराणादिभिरेवेश्वरः प्रत्याय्यते । तदुक्तं भगवता व्यासेन ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु–'शास्त्रयोनित्वात्' (१।१।३) इति ॥

जगज्जन्मादिकर्तृ ब्रह्मेति शास्त्रेणैव प्रत्याय्यतेऽयमर्थः ॥

यत्तु केचिदाक्षिपन्ति–उपात्तेयं श्रुतिर्बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि याज्ञवल्क्यमैत्रेयीसंवादे समुपलभ्यते, तत्र च जीवात्मैवोपक्रान्तः 'न वा अरे पत्युः कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति आत्मनस्तु कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति' इत्यादिना । ततश्चात्र महतो भूतस्येति प्रक्रान्तो जीवात्मैव ग्रहीतव्य इति नैतया श्रुत्या परमात्मनः सकाशाद् उत्पत्तिर्वेदपुराणादीनां सिध्यति इति । तदेतद्वाक्यान्वयाधिकरणेन भगवता व्यासेनैव ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु समाहितम् । जीवात्माभेदेनैवात्र परमात्मानं ग्राहयितुं प्रवृत्तो भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रथमं सौकर्याय जीवात्मानमेव प्रियतास्पदत्वेन ग्राहयित्वा तदभिन्नतयैव परमात्मनो दर्शनं विधत्ते । तत एव 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः' इति । 'आत्मनो वा अरे दर्शनेन श्रवणेन मत्या विज्ञानेनेदं सर्वं विदितम्' इत्येकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञामुपनिषत्प्रसिद्धामन्ववदत् । तेन च सर्वजगन्मूल–भूतस्य परमात्मन एवात्र ज्ञेयत्वेनोपक्षेप इति स्फुटीभवति । मूलतत्त्वस्य विज्ञानेनैव सर्वविज्ञानसंभवात् । इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा इति च वदन् सर्वात्मभूतः परमात्मैवात्र वेद्यतयोपदिष्ट इति स्फुटीचकार । तदग्रे महद्भूतपदाभ्यां तमेव स्मारयित्वा तस्मात् सर्वस्याप्युत्पत्तिमभिदधे–इति सुस्फुटोऽयमर्थः । ये तु जीवात्मनः परमात्मना सहाद्वैतभावं न सहन्ते, तेषां दुरभिलप्येयं श्रुतिरित्यन्यदेतत् ॥

यदपि केचिदाहुः–"इतिहास-पुराण-विद्योपनिषत्-श्लोक-सूत्रव्याख्यानादिकं सर्वमिदं ब्राह्मणभागस्यान्तर्गतमिह ग्राह्यम्, जगतः प्रागवस्थाप्रतिपादकः 'नैव वा किञ्चिदग्र आसीत्' इत्यादि, ब्राह्मणभाग एव पुराणम् । "देवासुराः संयत्ता आसन्" इत्यादयश्चेतिहासाः" तदपीदं न विवेकबुद्धिग्राह्यम् । इह हि उपदर्शितायां बृहदारण्यकश्रुतौ 'ऋचः' 'यजूँषि' 'सामानि' इति नोपात्तम् अपि तु 'ऋग्वेदः' 'यजुर्वेदः' 'सामवेदः' इत्युपात्तम् । 'तेषामृग्यत्रार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था' (मी. सू. ३।१।३५) इत्यादिजैमिनिवचोनुऽसृत्य ऋक्पदेन पद्यान्येव ग्रहीतुमुचितानि । सामपदेन गीतय एव, यजुःपदेन गद्यान्येव । ऋग्वेदपदेन तु ऋक्प्रधानः सर्वोऽपि संहिताब्राह्मणात्मकऋग्वेद इति प्रसिद्धः संग्रहो ग्राह्यः । तथैव च सामवेदयजुर्वेदपदाभ्यामित्यस्ति शिष्टपरम्परागता शब्दार्थव्यवस्थितिः ॥

तथा च ब्राह्मणानामृग्वेदादिपदेनैव संगृहीतत्वात् पुनरितिहासपुराणग्रहणमपार्थकमेव । तथैव च उदाहृतपूर्वायां छान्दोग्यश्रुतावपि ऋग्वेदादिपदानि संकीर्त्य इतिहासपुराणमित्यस्य विशेषणं पञ्चमम् इत्यपि श्रूयते । यदि नाम ब्राह्मणानामेव कतिचन भागा इतिहासपुराणशब्दाभ्यां विवक्षिताः स्युः, तर्हि पञ्चमपदेन ते भागाः कथं संगृह्येरन्? तत्र हि विद्यागणना वा प्रस्तुता, ग्रन्थगणना वेति तावद्विचार्यम् । तत्रादित एव विद्यागणना

चेन्मन्येत, ऋग्वेदाद्युपादानं तर्हि नान्वियात्; न हि ऋग्वेद इति यजुर्वेद इति वा कापि विद्या प्रसिध्यति । बह्वीनां विद्यानां तत्र तत्रान्तर्भावात् । तस्मात् 'पञ्चमम्' इति पर्यन्तम् ग्रन्थगणनैवाभिप्रेतेत्यकामेनाप्यवशं स्वीकर्तुमुचितं स्यात् . तत एव च अथर्ववेदस्य चतुर्थत्वेन पृथग्गणनापि युक्तिमती । ऋचः, यजूंषि इत्यादिरूपेण चेत्परिगण्यते, न तर्हि आथर्वणं चतुर्थमिति वक्तव्यं स्यात् । ऋगादिपदेन तदभागानामपि संगृहीतत्वात् । अनन्ततरन्तु भवतु विद्यागणनाभ्युपगमः, तत्र सङ्ख्यावाचकपदाश्रवणात्, विद्याशब्दस्य स्पष्टं श्रवणाच्च । ततश्च ग्रन्थगणनायामितिहासपुराणमिति पुराणविद्याप्रतिपादको ग्रंन्थ एवोक्तः न तु ब्राह्मणेषु तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यमानास्ते भागा इत्येव युक्तमभ्युपगन्तुम्, बृहदारण्यकश्रुतावपि तुल्यन्यायात्तथैव । यथा चेतिहासपुराणमिति शब्दौ विद्यावाचकौ ग्रन्थेऽपि प्रवर्तेते, तथाग्रिमेषु प्रकरणेषु सुस्फुटं स्यात् । श्रीशङ्कराचार्या अपि ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यदेवताधिकरणे "ज्योतिषभावाच्च" इति सूत्रस्य भाष्ये "इतिहासपुराणमपि पौरुषेयत्वात् प्रमाणान्तरं मूलमाकाङ्क्षते" इति पूर्वपक्षे इतिहासपुराणयोर्वेदातिरिक्ततां स्पष्टमुक्त्वा तत्प्रामाण्ये च संशयं प्रदर्श्य सिद्धान्तपक्षे "भावं तु बादरायणोऽस्ति हि" इति सूत्रभाष्ये ऋषीणामपि मन्त्रब्राह्मणदर्शिनां सामर्थ्यं नास्मदीयेन सामर्थ्येनोपमातुं शक्यम् । तस्मात् "समूलमितिहासपुराणम्" इत्युक्तम् । तेनेतिहासपुराणानां वेदातिरिक्तत्वेऽपि आर्षत्वं प्रामाण्यं च स्पष्टमुक्तम् । तदेवमितिहासपुराणानां वेदादिरिक्तत्वे सिद्धे तन्मूलभूतमितिहासपुराणं विद्यापि वेदेभ्यः पृथगेव सिध्यति । किं च ब्राह्मणभागा एव यदि विशकलय्य तैस्तैः पदैः श्रुतिषु विभिन्ननामभिः परिगृहीताः तर्हि, ब्राह्मणानां मुख्यो भागः कर्मविधिर्नाम केन शब्देन गृहीत इति विमृग्यं स्यात् । किं सर्वा विद्या अधिगतवतापि नारदेन कर्मभागो नाधीतः । बृहदारण्यके वा तस्य परमात्मनः उत्पत्तिर्नाम्नाता । अन्ये पुराणाद्या ब्राह्मणभागा महतो भूतान्निश्वसितरूपेणोत्पन्नाः मुख्यो ब्राह्मणभागः कर्मविधिरूपश्च न महतो भूतादुत्पन्न इति श्रुत्याशयमनुन्मत्तः कः श्रद्दधीत ? विद्यासूत्रव्याख्यानादिपदैरस्तु तत्संग्रहमिति ब्रूयुश्चेत्, ननु विलक्षणेयं पद्धतिर्यद् ब्राह्मणेष्वप्राधान्येन यत्र कुत्रचिदुपलभ्यमानाः पुराणादिभागाः स्वशब्दैरुच्चार्यन्ते । मुख्यतमो विधिभागस्तु कथञ्चिद्गौणरूपेण केनचिच्छब्देन परिगृह्यत इति । कर्मविधिशब्दे एतावान् प्रद्वेषस्तत्रभवतां नारदयाज्ञवलक्यादीनाम् यत्ते तं शब्दं नोच्चारयन्ति इति तस्मादृग्वेदादिपदैरेव मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मकास्ते ते वेदा इह गृहीताः । अग्रे चाम्नाता इतिहासपुराणाद्या ब्राह्मणेभ्यः पृथगेवेत्यर्थः स्फुटस्तत्र स्वीकार्यः । यत्तु केचन वेदमन्त्रभागस्यानादितामुद्घोषयन्तोऽपि 'यज्ञप्रक्रियापरो मन्त्राणामर्थः पश्चात् प्रवृत्त' इति साधयितुं सन्नह्यन्ति तेषां मते–

"ऋचां त्वः पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान्
गायत्रं त्वो गायति शक्वरीषु ।

ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्याम्
यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीत उत्वः ॥ (ऋ. १०।७१।११)

इत्यादिना स्पष्टं यज्ञे ऋत्विक्कार्यविभागप्रतिपादकानां निरुक्ते च तथैव व्याख्यातानां मन्त्राणां कः प्रामाणिकोऽर्थः स्यात् ? यजुस्संहितापूर्वविंशतिकायाश्च यज्ञविनियोग-क्रमेणैव संङ्घटितायाः का सङ्गतिश्च ? किं च 'मन्त्रात्मकान् वेदान् समुपदिश्य तदर्थग्रहणेऽशक्तान् जनान् ईश्वर एव तदर्थं ग्राहयामास, तानि मन्त्रव्याख्यारूपाणि ब्राह्मणानि' इति स्वनिबन्धे श्रीस्वामिदयानन्देनाप्युक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु च कर्मबोध-पराण्येव व्याख्यानानि मन्त्राणामुपलभ्यन्त इतीश्वरबोधितादप्यर्थात् प्राक् का व्याख्या संभवेद् ? ननु भोः श्लोकाः सूत्राणि व्याख्यानानि अनुव्याख्यानानि इत्याद्यपि तर्हि परमात्मन आविर्भूतमनादिस्वीकर्तुमापतेदिति चेद् बाढम् । अनतिशङ्कनीया भगवती श्रुतिरिति श्लोकसूत्रव्याख्यानादिकमपि मूलभूतमनाद्यभ्युपगन्तव्यमेव । यथा त्वद्यत्वे पुराणेतिहासा व्यासेन स्वरूपान्तरीकृता एव अस्माभिरुपलभ्यन्ते, तथा श्लोकसूत्रादिकमपि मूलभूतमनादि नोपलभ्यते, तैस्तैर्मुनिभी रूपान्तरतां प्रापितमेव तु लभ्यत इत्येव स्वारसिकः सिद्धान्तः स्वीकरणीयः स्यात्, गत्यन्तराभावात् । अत एव च "इमे सर्वे वेदा निर्मिताः सकल्पाः सरहस्याः, सब्राह्मणाः, सोपनिषत्काः, सेतिहासाः, सव्याख्यानाः, सपुराणाः, ससंस्काराः, सनिरुक्ताः, सानुशासनाः, सानुमार्जनाः, सवाकोवाक्याः", इति (गोपथ० पूर्वभाग० प्रपा० २-१ का० १) इति गोपथश्रुतिरप्युपपद्यते । इह हि स्फुटमेव ब्राह्मणेभ्यः पृथक्कृत्य पुराणेतिहासादीनि कल्पान्वाख्यानादीनि चोपात्तानि । ब्राह्मणवसिष्ठन्यायाश्रयणं त्वगतिकगतिः । तस्मात् सर्वाण्येतानि वेदवदनादीन्यासन् पूर्वयुगे, इदानीं तु मन्त्रब्राक्षणोपनिषदात्मका वेदा एव स्वस्वरूपे सुरक्षिता अध्ययनपरम्परया द्विजैः । अन्यानि तु कालपर्ययेण रूपान्तरतामेवापद्याद्यत्वे उपलभ्यन्ते, न तु अनादिरूपे इत्येव स्पष्टं फलति–इत्यलं विस्तरेण तदित्थं पुराणानां पञ्चमवेदत्वमीश्वरनिःश्वसितत्वमनादित्वं च श्रुतिभिरेव प्रतिपाद्यत इति किमतः परं तन्महत्त्वमनुकीर्तनीयं स्यात् ॥

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केषुचिन्मत्स्यपुराणश्लोकेषु गद्यभ्रमः

ठाकुर प्रसाद शर्मा, द्विवेदी

[In this article it is shown that the text of the Matsya, Ānandāśrama Ch. 154, vv. 554 to 575, which is taken as prose by the available printed texts of the Purāṇa is really a metrical passage, in śragviṇī verses. Not only would the properly chosen readings bear this out, but a comparision with the Padma-Purāṇa where this whole sequence occurs confirms this.]

मत्स्यपुराणस्य जीवानन्दमुद्रितपुस्तके १५३ सङ्ख्याकेऽध्याये ५५४-तमश्लोकादनन्तरं 'अथ गद्यानि' इति शीर्षकं दत्त्वा ५५५ तमश्लोकाद् आरभ्य ५७७-तमश्लोकपर्यन्तोंऽशो गद्यत्वेन स्वीकृतः । एवमानन्दाश्रममुद्रितपुस्तकेऽपि १५४-तम अध्याये ५५४-तम श्लोकादारभ्य ५७५-तमश्लोकपर्यन्तः पाठो गद्यात्मक इति सम्पादकानां मतं ५७०-तमश्लोकस्य पादटिप्पण्यां निर्दिष्टम् । मत्स्यपुराणस्य हस्तलिखितपुस्तकेष्वपि प्रस्तुतांशस्य पूर्णतः शुद्धपद्यात्मकतया पाठो नोपलभ्यते । परन्तु साहित्यशास्त्रनिर्दिष्टेषु मुक्तकवृत्तगन्धिचूर्णकोत्कलिकाप्रायेषु चतुर्ष्वपि गद्यभेदेषु मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशो नान्तर्भवति । अतोऽयमंशो गद्यात्मको वा पद्यात्मको वेति न निश्चीयते । अस्मिन्विषये सम्यग्विचारं कृत्वा आनन्दाश्रमस्यायमंशः पद्यात्मक एवेति प्रतिपादयितुं प्रयतिष्यते ॥

अत्र विषये दण्डकपद्यात्मकोऽयमंश इति केषाञ्चिन्महानुभावानां सम्मतिरिति तदपि न सम्भवति; यतः सप्तविंशत्यक्षरवतां तदधिकवर्णवतां च चतुर्णां चरणानामेकं दण्डकवृत्तं भवति । ज्ञायते मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्मिन्नंशे प्रायः रगणाधिक्यमवलोक्यैव दण्डकभ्रान्तिर्भवतीति । परन्तु दण्डकवृत्ते आद्यौ द्वौ गणौ नगणौ भवतः, मत्स्यपुराणस्य त्वस्मिन्नंशे कुत्राप्यादौ नगणस्य प्रयोगो न दृश्यते, मध्ये सर्वत्राविरता रगणा अपि न सन्ति, अतोऽयमंशो दण्डकस्य कस्मिन्नपि भेदे नागच्छति ॥

वस्तुतस्तु मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशः पद्यमय एव स्रग्विणीछन्दःस्वासीत् । लेखकप्रमादेनात्र क्वचित् क्वचिद् रगणात्मके पाठे विनष्टे एको विलक्षणो गद्यपद्यात्मकोऽस्पष्टः पाठः संजातः । परन्तु सर्वोऽप्ययं मत्स्यपुराणसन्दर्भोऽनेनैव क्रमेण पद्मपुराणस्य सृष्टिखण्डे (आनन्दा., अ. ४०, श्लो. ५०६-५२३½) अविच्छिन्नरूपेण स्रग्विणीछन्दस्येव वर्णितः । मत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रस्तुतोंऽशोऽपि तत्तत्कोशोपलब्धपाठभेदसाहाय्येन स्रग्विणीश्लोकैः पद्यमयः कर्तुं शक्यते । तदेवात्र स्पष्टीकरिष्यते । स्रग्विणीछन्दसो लक्षणं तावत् :—

"रैश्चतुर्भिर्युता स्रग्विणी संमता" इति ।

इदमेव लक्षणमाश्रित्य आनन्दाश्रम-मत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रस्तुतानां पङ्क्तीनां विचारः क्रियते–

उमोवाच–

"एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक"

अस्यां पङ्क्तौ द्वाविंशतिरक्षणामि सन्ति, विभागद्वये कृते "एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां" इति प्रथमः खण्डो दशवर्णात्मकः, द्वितीयश्च "देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक" इति द्वादशवर्णात्मकः । उभयोः खण्डयोर्वर्णेषु गणचिह्नानि दत्त्वावलोकने कृते प्रथमस्य चरणस्यादावेको गुरुवर्णः शेषेषु च नवसु वर्णेषु त्रयो रगणाः भवन्ति । द्वितीयश्च खण्डश्चतुर्भी रगणैः परिपूर्णः स्रग्विणीवृत्तलक्षणेन मिलतीत्यतः आदिगद्यंवर्णं विहाय शेषेषु पदेषु वृत्तबन्धोऽस्तीत्येतस्य गद्यत्वाभिधानं नोचितम्, अपितु प्रथमखण्डमात्रं पद्यगन्धि गद्यमिति वक्तुं शक्यते । परमेतावन्मात्रकथनेन न भवति परितोषः । विचार्यावलोकने कृते इयमेव प्रतीतिर्जाता यदत्र प्रथमे चरणे द्वयोर्वर्णयोस्त्रुटिरस्तीति । यदि प्रसङ्गानुकूलौ द्वौ वर्णौ संयोज्येयातां तदा अयमपि पादः चतुर्भी रगणैः परिपूर्णो भविष्यतीत्यनया रीत्योभयोः पादयोर्योगाच्छुद्धं श्लोकार्द्धं संपत्स्यते ॥

सेयं रीतिः–"एहि+एहि+अत्र" एषु त्रिषु पदेषु प्रथमस्य 'एहि' पदस्य द्वितीयेन 'एहि' पदेन सन्धेरविवक्षया "एहि+अत्र" इत्यत्र सन्धिविवक्षया "एहि एह्यत्र" पदसिद्धौ प्रथमोऽपि चरणश्चतुर्भी रगणैः परिपूर्णः स्यात् । तदा पूर्णैर्द्वादशभिरक्षरैः 'एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे पुत्रताम्' इति स्रग्विण्या एकश्चरणो भवति । द्वयोः पादयोर्योगात्–

"एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक"

इति शुद्धोऽयमर्धश्लोकः । एवम्

"इत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं
पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलवादिनम्"

अत्रापि 'इत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं', 'पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलवादिनम्' इति च पूर्ववत् खण्डद्वयं जातम् । अत्राप्ययं प्रथमश्चरणो दशवर्णात्मको भवति । तेष्वेकः प्रथम 'इ'कारेति स्ववर्णो गुरुः संयोगाद्यत्वात्, किन्तु पादोऽयमथापि वर्णद्वयन्यूनतामेवानुभवति । शेषेषु तु रगणत्रयं विद्यते । ज्ञायते वर्णद्वयलोपादत्र प्रथमो रगणो विभ्रष्ट इति ॥

द्वितीयश्चरणो द्वादशभिरक्षरैः पूर्णोऽपि तृतीयस्थाने रगणरहितः । अतः प्रथमचरणस्य 'इत्येवम्' पदे द्वितीयस्य च 'कलेति' पदे परिवर्तनं क्रियेत चेत्तदेमौ चरणावपि चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भी रगणैः पूर्णौ भविष्यतः । यथा–

"उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं
　　पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलालापिनम्" इति ॥

एवं शुद्धयोर्द्वयोः श्लोकार्धयोरेकत्र योगेन शुद्धो मनोहरश्च एकः श्लोकः सम्पद्यते । तस्य चरणचतुष्टयमधो निर्दिश्यते । यथा–

एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ।
उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलालापिनम् ॥ इति ॥

एवं सर्वेषां श्लोकानामादौ मध्येऽन्त्ये च येषु केषुचित् पदेषु येन केन प्रकारेण मसीलेखकादिदोषतः कृमिकीटमूषकादिकृतकर्तनादिकारणेन वा रगणात्मकेषु पाठेषु परिभ्रष्टेषु पद्यानां गतिर्यतिश्च विनष्टा । तत इमं प्रसङ्गं गद्यात्मकं मत्वा तथैव निर्देशः कृतः ॥

एवं यत्र तत्र भ्रमवशाद्वर्णभ्रंशो वर्णान्तरसन्निवेशः पदभ्रंशः पदान्तरसन्निवेशो वा चरणान्तरं वा कस्मिंश्चिच्चरणे समापतितं, चरणौ वा चरणान्तरेण मिलितावन्याश्च याः काश्चिदशुद्धयः सञ्जाताः ताः सर्वाः शोधयितुं शक्यन्ते ॥

परमिदं कार्यं स्वकल्पितानां वर्णानां पदानां वा सन्निवेशेन कर्तुं नोचितम्, अपि तु मत्स्यपुराणस्यैव हस्तलिखितानामनेकेषां पुस्तकानां पाठान्तरसंग्रहणेन । एवं च गद्यमयोऽयं भागः स्रग्विणीछन्दोभिर्बद्धः पद्यमय एव इति स्पष्टीभविष्यति ॥

यद्यपि सर्वेषु लिखितेषु पुस्तकेषु विभिन्नानि पाठान्तराणि सन्ति, पूर्णतया शुद्धाः पद्यमयाः पाठाः कुत्रापि पुस्तके नोपलभ्यन्ते; तथापि पद्यानुकूलपाठान्तरान्वेषणेन मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्यांशस्य पद्यमयत्वमुद्धर्तुं शक्यते ॥

तदत्र काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे संवादितेषु मत्स्यपुराणस्य प्राचीनहस्तलिखित-पुस्तकेषूपलब्धानां पाठभेदानामेव साहाय्येन आनन्दाश्रममत्स्यपुराणीय १५४-तमाध्यायस्य केवलं ५५४-५५७ सङ्ख्याकानामंशानां स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु परिवर्तनपद्धतिः प्रदृश्यते–

(१) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः–

[१]एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे [१]पुत्रतां [२]देवदेवन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक[२] ॥　　५५४
[३]इत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं[३] पर्यचुम्बत्[४] कपोले[५] कलवादिनम् ॥　　५५५

[पाठभेदाः– (१) ०जातोऽसि० ; एहि एहि जातोऽसि मे पुत्र तावदेव; एहि एहि माता तवाहं पुत्रोऽसि मे; एहि सद्यो हि जातोऽसि पुत्रतामेसि वीरक; एहि न ह्येहि यातो० (शारदापुस्तके)

(२) देवदेवेन दत्तो वीरकः देवदेवन रुद्रेण दत्तस्त्वं हि मयाधुना

(३) इत्युक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधा०; उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधा० (बहुषु पुस्तकेषु)

(४) पर्यष्वजत्

(५) कलं वादिनम्; कलावादिनम्; कलालापिनम्]

स्रग्विणीवृत्तपाठः–

एहि सद्यो हि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ।
उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं पर्यचुम्वत् कपोले **कलं वादिनम्** ॥

(२) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः–

मूर्ध्न्युपाघ्राय संमार्ज्य गात्राणि भूषयामास[1] दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः ।
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरै[2]र्माणिक्य[3]केयूरहारोरुमूलगुणैः[4] ॥ ५५६

[पाठभेदाः– (१) संभूषयामास; स भूषयामास; सा भूषयामास ।

(२) नूपुरैरुत्तमैः, नूपुरैः सुस्वनैः;

(३) प्राज्यमाणिक्य

(४) ०गणैः, ०हारोत्करैः । सा भूषयामास सत्करैः सद्गुणैः]

स्रग्विणीवृत्तपाठः–

मूर्ध्न्युपाघ्राय संमार्ज्य गात्राणि सा भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः ।
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैरुत्तमैः प्राज्यमाणिक्यकेयूरहारोत्करैः ॥

(३) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः :–

कोमलैः[1] पल्लवैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभिर्दि[2]व्यमन्त्रो[3]द्भवैस्त[3]स्य ।
शुभै[4]स्ततो भूरि[5]भिश्चाकरोन्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ५५७

[पाठभेदः– (१) सद्गुणैः कोमलैः;

(२) ०श्चारुसिद्धिर्दि० (०द्धिदि०); रम्यकैश्चारुभिश्चित्रवस्त्रोद्भवैः,

(३) ०श्चित्रमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैस्तस्य;

(४) शुभ्रै०;

(५) भूतिभि० (बहुषु पुस्तकेषु); भूमिभि०]

स्रग्विणीवृत्तपाठः :–

सद्गुणैः कोमलैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभिर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैः ।
तस्य शुभ्रैस्ततो भूतिभिश्चाकरोन्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥

एवं पाठभेदसाहाय्येन शेषोऽप्यंशोऽनेनैव क्रमेण स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु परिवर्तयितुं शक्यते । एष सर्वोऽप्यंशः स्रग्विणीपद्येषु पद्मपुराणस्य सृष्टिखण्डे अनेनैव क्रमेण कैश्चित्पाठभेदैः सह वर्तते, येनेदमनुमातुं शक्यते यद् मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशोऽपि पद्यमय एव स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु निबद्ध आसीत् ।

मत्स्यपुराणस्य स्रग्धिणीछन्दस्सु संशोधितः सर्वोऽप्ययमंशः पद्मपुराणस्योक्तस्रग्विणीपद्यैः सहैवाधो लिख्यते तुलनासौकर्यार्थम् :–

मत्स्यपुराणम् (आनन्दा.) (अ. १५४/५५४-५७५) स्रग्विणीपाठः	पद्मपुराणम् (आनन्दा०) सृष्टिखण्ड, अ. ४०, श्लो. ५०६-५२३½
उमोवाच–	उमोवाच
एहि सद्यो हि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक । उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलं वादिनम् ॥ १	एहि सद्यो हि जातोऽसि मे पुत्रको देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक । उक्तवत्यङ्कमाधाय पर्यष्वजत्- तं कपोले चुचुम्बागरान्नन्दिनी ॥ १
मूर्ध्न्युपाघ्राय सम्मार्ज्य गात्राणि सा भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः । किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैरुत्तमैः- प्राज्यमाणिक्यकेयूरहारोत्करैः ॥ २	मूर्ध्न्युपाघ्राय सम्मार्ज्य गात्राणि सं- भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः । किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैः सन्मणि- क्याढ्यकेयूरहारैरमूल्यैर्गुणैः ॥ २
सद्गुणैः कोमलैः पल्लवैश्चित्रितै- श्चारुभिर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैः । तस्य शुभ्रैस्ततो भूतिभिश्चाकरो- न्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ३	कोमलैः पल्लवैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभि- र्मङ्गलैः कङ्कणैर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः । तस्य शुद्धैस्ततो भूरिभिश्चाकरो- न्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ३
एवमादाय चोवाच कृत्वा स्रजं मूर्ध्नि गोरोचनापत्रभङ्गोज्ज्वलैः । वत्स गच्छाधुना क्रीड सार्धं गणै- रप्रमत्तो नगे श्वभ्रवर्जं शनैः ॥ ४	एवमादाय चोवाच कृत्वा स्रजं मूर्ध्नि गोरोचनापत्रभङ्गोज्ज्वलैः । वत्स वत्साधुना क्रीड सार्धं गणै- रप्रमत्तो व्रज श्वभ्रवर्जं शनैः ॥ ४
व्यालमालाकुलाः शैलसानुद्रुमा दन्तिभिर्भिन्नसाराः परे भङ्गिनः । जाह्नवीयं जलं क्षुब्धतोयाकुलं	व्यालमालाकुलाः शैलसानुद्रुमा दन्तिभिर्भग्नसाराः परे भङ्गिनः । जाह्नवीमण्डलं क्षुब्धतोयाकुलं

मा विशेथा बहुव्याघ्रजुष्टे वने ॥ ५	मा विशेथा बहुव्याघ्रजुष्टे वने ॥ ५
सत्त्वसङ्ख्येषु दुर्गागणेशेषु यद्- वीरकं पुत्रभावाय दृष्ट्वाऽकरोत् । तिष्ठतु स्वस्थचित्तो जनः प्रार्थिता भव्यमायाति भाविन्यसौ भव्यता ॥ ६	वत्स सङ्ख्येषु दुर्गेषु यद्वीरक पुत्रभावाय तां स्वस्थचित्तो जनः । प्रार्थितं भव्यमायाति भाविन्यसौ भाव्यतां सोऽपि निर्वर्त्य सर्वैर्गुणैः ॥ ६
	पुंलस्त्य उवाच—
सोपि निर्वर्त्य सर्वान् गणेशान्स्मया- दाह बालत्वलीलारसाविष्टधीः । एष मात्रा स्वयं मे कृतो भूषण- श्चैष दत्तः पटः पाटलैर्बिन्दुभिः ॥ ७	एवमुक्तोऽम्बया वीरको मातरं स स्मयन्नाह लीलारसाविष्टधीः । एष मात्रा स्वयं मे कृतः कङ्कणः पत्रकश्चित्रितः पाटलैर्बिन्दुभिः ॥ ७
सिन्दुवारस्य पुष्पैरियं मालती- मिश्रिता मालिका मे शिरस्याहिता । कोऽयमातोद्यधारी गणेशो भवेद् यस्य दास्यामि हस्तादिदं क्रीडनम् ॥ ८	चारुपुष्पैरियं मालतीभिः कृता मालिका मे शिरस्याहिता कोमला । तोषयामीश्वरीमित्ययं सत्वरं चिन्तयित्वाऽव्रजद्वाह्यतः क्रीडनम् ॥ ८
दक्षिणात् पश्चिमं पश्चिमादुत्तरं चोत्तरात् पूर्वमभ्येत्य सख्या युता । प्रेक्षती तं हसन्ती गवाक्षान्तरा- द्वीरकं शैलपुत्री बहिः क्रीडनम् ॥ ९	स्वैर्गणैः संयुतो वीरको हर्षितो दक्षिणात् पश्चिमं पश्चिमादुत्तरम् । उत्तरात् पूर्वमभ्येत्य सख्या युता प्रेक्षती तं गवाक्षान्तराद्वीरकम् ॥ ९
यज्जगन्मातुरप्येष चित्तभ्रमः स्नेहजः पुत्रलब्धौ जनस्तत्र कः । मोहमायाति न स्वल्पचेता जडो मांसविण्मूत्रसंघातदेहोद्वहः ॥ १०	शैलपुत्री बहिः क्रीडितां यज्जग- त्स्नेहजः पुत्रलुब्धो यतस्तत्र कः । मोहमायाति यः स्वल्पचेता जडो मांसविण्मूत्रसङ्घातदेहोद्वहः ॥ १०
द्रष्टुमभ्यन्तरं नाकवासेश्वरे- ष्विन्दुमौलिं प्रविष्टेषु कक्षान्तरम् वाहनान्यध्यरोहद्गणेशैर्युतो लोकपालास्त्रजालं मुहुर्लोलयन् ॥ ११	द्रष्टुमभ्यन्तरन्नाकवासेश्वरे- ष्विन्दुमौलिं प्रविष्टेषु कक्षान्तरम् । वाहनान्यध्यरोहद्गणेशैर्युतो लोकपालास्त्रपूगं मुहूर्तादयम् ॥ ११
खड्ग एषो वियत्तारकानिर्मलः कुन्तकः कस्य केनाहतो ब्रूत भोः । मे न वद्धोऽस्तु दण्डेन किं दुस्पृशा भीस्तु मर्त्यालये नास्ति कृत्यं गिरौ ॥ १२	खड्ग एषोऽविषद्रावरो निर्मलः कृन्तकः कस्य केनाहतो ब्रूत नः । नो भवेद्योऽस्ति दण्डेन किं दुःसहो भीममूर्त्यङ्गणे नास्ति कृत्यं गिरौ ॥ १२

पाश एषोऽस्त्यनेनात्र को बध्यते	पास एषोऽस्ति तेनाऽत्र को वञ्च्यते
मा वृथा लोकपालानुगा बिभ्यत ।	मा वृथा लोकपालानुगा विद्रुत ।
एवमेवैतदित्यूचुरस्मै तदा	एवमेवैतदित्यब्रुवंस्ते तदा
देवदेवानुगं वीरकं सर्वदा ॥ १३	वीक्ष्य देवानुगं वीरकं रक्षकम् ॥ १३
मत्स्यपुराणम्	पद्मपुराणम्
प्राह देवी वने पर्वतादिष्वर-	प्राह देवी वने पर्वते निर्जरा-
ण्याग्निमालाकुले माऽयताद्भूतपाः ।	ध्यग्निशालामुखे भूतले भूतपाः ।
निर्झराम्भोनिपातेषु निर्मज्जतः	निर्झराम्भोनिपातेषु नो मज्जतातः
पुष्पजालावनद्धेषु धामस्वपि ॥ १४	पुष्पजालावनद्धेषु धामस्वपि ॥ १४
तुङ्गनानानिकुञ्जानुगर्जद्गुहा-	प्रोच्चनानाद्रिकुञ्जावगाहेष्वथो
मारुतास्फोटसंगक्षणं क्रामत ।	मारुतास्फोटसंरक्षणे कामतः ।
काञ्चनोत्तुङ्गशृङ्गावरोहक्षितौ	काञ्चनोत्तुङ्गशृङ्गावरोहक्षितौ
हेमरेणूत्करासंग पिङ्गद्युतिः ॥ १५	हैमरेणूत्करासङ्गपिङ्गद्युतिः ॥ १५
खेचराणां भ्रमाधायिरम्यो बभौ	खेचराणां वने चापि रम्ये च भू-
रूपसम्पत्प्रकारो गणाधीशितुः ।	रूपसम्पर्प्ररो गणो वासितुम् ।
मन्दरे शैलके कन्दरे सुन्दरे	मन्दरे कन्दरे चारुवापीतटे
कुन्दमन्दारपुष्पप्रवालाम्बुजे ॥ १६	कुन्दमन्दारपुष्पप्रवालाम्बुजे ॥ १६
सिद्धनारीभिरापीतरूपामृतं	सिद्धनारीभिरापीतरूपामृतं
विस्तृतैर्नेत्रपात्रैरनुन्मेषिभिः ।	विस्तृतैर्नेत्रपात्रैरनुन्मेषिभिः ।
वीरकं शैलपुत्री निमेषान्तरा-	वीरकं शैलपुत्रो निमेषान्तरा-
दस्मरत् पुत्रगृध्नी विनोदार्थिनी ॥ १७	दस्मरत्, पुत्रगृध्नुर्विनोदार्थिनी ॥ १७
सोऽपि तादृक्क्षणावाप्तपुण्योदयो	सौऽपि तावत्क्षणाबाह्यपुण्योदयो
योऽपि जन्मान्तरस्यात्मजत्वं गतः ।	यो हि जन्मान्तरस्यात्मजत्वं ततः ।
क्रीडतस्तस्य तृप्तिः कथं जायते	क्रीडतस्तस्य तृप्तिः कथं जायते
योऽभिभावी जगद्वेधसा तेजसा ॥ १८	योऽपि भावाज्जगद्वेधसा तेजसा ॥ १८
केलिलोलः क्षणं दिव्यगीतः क्षणं	कल्पितः प्रेक्षणं दिव्यगीतः क्षणं
नृत्तलोलैर्गणेशैः परीतः क्षणम् ।	नृत्यलोलैर्गणेशैः प्रनृत्य क्षणम् ।
अतः परं ५७६,५७७-	अतः परमपि ५२५ श्लोकपर्यन्तं
संख्याकौ श्लोकौ भुजङ्गप्रयातौ	स्रग्विणीवृत्तम्, ततश्च ५२६ श्लोको
	भुजङ्गप्रयातः ।

●

प्रह्लादचरितस्य श्रुतिमूलकत्वम्*

म. म. पं. अनन्तकृष्ण शास्त्री

[In this article the learned writer has shown that the Prahlādacarita, as it is found in the Purāṇas, is based on the Śruti or Veda. He traces its source in the Taittirīya-*Brāhmaṇa, and discusses* its further amplification (or upabṛṁhaṇa) in the Purāṇas. It is in respect of the Prahlāda-carita and other similar ākhyānas which are found in the Śruti in a nucleus-form that the Purāṇa and Itihāsa, along with the Vedas,are said to be the breath of the Mhā-Bhūta. The Prahlāda-carita is found in a number of Purāṇas, such as Matsya, Kūrma, Vārāha, Vāmana, Viṣṇu, the two Bhāgavatas, Padma, Brahmāṇḍa, Nṛsiṁha and Saura. The writer here shows how these various Purāṇas give their own versions of the Prahlāda-carita, which has been briefly referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. He has also given here a brief summary of the Prahlāda-story contained in the Kūrma Purāṇa. (cf. also his pervious article on the Prahlāda-carita published in the "Purāṇa' Vol. III, No. 1.)}

प्रह्लादचरिते न केवलं पुराणेषु, किन्तु तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे प्रथमाष्टकपञ्चमप्रपाठके दशमानुवाके सप्तमं दशकमपि प्रमाणम् । तद्यथा–प्रह्लादो ह वै कायाधवः । विरोचनं स्वं पुत्रमुदौस्थत् । स प्रदरोऽभवत् । तस्मात् प्रदरादुदकं नाचामेत् इति । अत्रत्यसायणभाष्यं यथा–"कयाधूसंज्ञायाः स्त्रियाः पुत्रः प्रह्लादः स्वकीयपुत्रं विरोचनं केनापि निमित्तेन कुपितो हस्तेनोद्धृत्य क्वचिद्भूमावपातयत् । स भूमिप्रदेशः प्रदरः छिद्रोऽभवत् । तस्मात् प्रदरस्यासुरत्वात् तत्र प्रविष्टमुदकं नाचामेत् । तथा चापस्तम्बः– 'न वर्षधारास्वाचामेत् । तथा प्रदरोदके इति ।"

इदं दशकं सामान्यतः प्रह्लादचरितं प्रास्तौत् । प्रथमाष्टकपञ्चमप्रपाठकपञ्चमानुवाक-प्रथमद्वितीयदशकेषु त्वितोऽपि विशदं प्रह्लादचरितमनुक्रमेते । तद्यथा–"देवासुराः संयत्ताः आसन् । स प्रजापतिरिन्द्रं ज्येष्ठं पुत्रमपन्वधत्त । नेदेनमसुरा बलीयांसोऽहनन्निति । प्रह्लादो ह वै कायाधवः । विरोचनं स्वं पुत्रमपन्वधत्त । नेदेनं देवा अहनन्निति । ते देवाः प्रजापतिमुपसमेत्योचुः । नाराजकस्य युद्धमस्ति । इन्द्रमन्विच्छामेति । तं यज्ञक्रतुभि-रन्वैच्छत् । तं यज्ञक्रतुभिर्नान्वविन्दत । तमिष्टिभिरन्वविन्दत । तदिष्टीनामिष्टित्वम् ।

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* Purāṇa, Vol. III, No 2 (July 1961) pp. 288-295

ऐष्ट्यो ह वै नाम ता इष्ट्यूय इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण । परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा इति । इदमत्र सायणभाष्यम्–" देवाश्चासुराश्च यदा युद्धार्थमुद्यताः तदानीं प्रजापतिः स्वकीयं ज्येष्ठं पुत्रमिन्द्रं युद्धभूमेरपनीय क्वचिद् गूढे स्थाने निहितवान् । तस्यायमाशयः– बलीयांसोऽसुरा एनं दुर्बलमिन्द्रं नेदहन् नैव घ्नन्त्विति । तथा कयाधू-संज्ञिताया हिरण्यकशिपुभार्यायाः पुत्रः प्रह्लादः स्वकीयं पुत्रं विरोचनमसुरसैन्यस्वामिनं युद्धभूमेरपनीय क्वचिन्निहितवान् । तस्यायमभिप्रायः– एवं विरोचनं देवाः सर्वथा मा घ्नन्त्विति । एवं राजद्वयरहितयोः सेनयोरवस्थितयोः सत्योः देवा प्रजापतिसमीपमेत्योचुः राजरहितस्य । सैन्यस्य न क्वचिदपि युद्धमस्ति । युयुत्सवः सर्वेऽपि राजानमन्तरेण पलायिष्यन्ते । तस्मादिन्द्रं राजानं तत्र तत्रान्विच्छाम इत्युक्त्वा प्रजापतिनाऽनुज्ञाताः तमिन्द्रं लब्धुं ज्योतिष्टोमादिरूपान् क्रतूननुष्ठितवन्तः । अङ्गभूतेष्टिरहितैस्तैर्महाक्रतुभिरिन्द्रमलब्ध्वा तत्र कारणमङ्गेष्टिवैकल्यं विचिन्त्य ता इष्टीरनुष्ठाय ताभिरिन्द्रं लब्धवन्तः इत्यादि । अनेन श्रुतिवचनेन प्रतीयते यत् श्रौतमिदमाख्यानमनादिपरम्परागतं, ब्रह्ममुखेन व्याससादिभिरवगतं चेति ।

अनेन चेदमवगम्यते–हिरण्यकशिपोः कयाधूसंज्ञायां भार्यायामुत्पन्नः पुत्रः प्रह्लादः । तेन स्वयं राज्यशासनाधिकारः परित्यक्तः, प्रह्लादस्य पुत्रो विरोचनस्तदा राजा आसीत् । इन्द्रविरोचनयोर्युद्धे इन्द्रस्य पराजय आसीत् तदा प्रह्लादेन स्वपुत्रो विरोचनो रक्षितः । ततः साङ्गक्रतूनामानुष्ठानेनेन्द्रस्येन्द्रपदप्राप्तिः । विरोचनस्य क्वचित् रसातले पाताले वा सर्वदा वास आसीदित्यादि ।

तत्र कयाधूपुत्रः प्रह्लादः त्यक्तराज्याधिकारो विरोचनं स्वपुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयामासेत्यंशः कयाधूपुत्रत्वादिकथा च नृसिंहपुराणे एकचत्वारिंशाध्याये व्यक्तः–इति नृसिंहपुराणमस्मिन्नंशे वेदोपबृंहकम् ।

तत्र हिरण्यकशिपुपुत्रस्य राज्याधिकारोऽर्थसिद्ध आसीदित्यवगमात् हिरण्यकशिपोर्वधः, तदनन्तरमेव प्रह्लादराज्याधिकारश्च प्रतीयते । तेन च नृसिंहपुराणोक्तो हिरण्यकशिपुवधान्तकथासंदर्भः, विष्णुपुराणोक्तकथासंदर्भश्च वेदमूलक इत्यर्थसिद्धम् ।

प्रह्लादराज्यशासनपरित्यागनिमित्तं तु नरनारायणयुद्धकाले नरनारायणयोर्भगवदंशत्वं तत्राभिव्यक्तभगवदुपदेशतोऽवगम्य, तदाराधनं विना न विजय इति विज्ञानम् । तत एव हिरण्याक्षपुत्रं तत्राभिषिच्य राज्यशासनाद् विरतिः, तन्मरणानन्तरं तु विरोचनस्य तत्राभिषेक इत्यर्थसिद्धम्, यदिदं कूर्मवामनादिपुराणतोऽवगम्यते । "तस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः पुराणमितिहासः" इति श्रुतौ पुराणस्यापि वेदस्येव भगवतो निःश्वसितत्वेनाम्नानं प्रह्लादादिचरितानि श्रुत्युल्लिखि-तान्यभिप्रेत्यैव । इदमनेन ज्ञायते प्रह्लादचरितं प्रतिकल्पं प्रतिमन्वन्तरं वा वेदवदनुवर्तते । तत्र तत्र पुराणेषु तस्य तस्याख्यानस्य विस्तरेण स्वकीयया भाषया करणमात्रेण पौरुषेयत्वं

व्यासकृतत्वं च प्रह्लादादिश्रौतचरितांशात्रे अन्यत्र त्वाख्यानांशेऽपि श्रुत्यर्थोपष्टम्भनार्थं व्यासकृतत्वेन सर्वात्मना पौरुषेयत्वम्, न प्रह्लादादिचरित इव चरितांशेऽपि पौरुषेयत्वम् ।

अतएव मन्वन्तरभेदेन दत्तात्रेयपरशुरामाद्यवतारविशेषाणां केषाञ्चन परिवर्तनवत् न परिवर्तनं प्रह्लादचरितस्य । सर्वथा तु मत्स्य-कूर्म-वराह-नृसिंहवामनदाशरथिराम-बलराम-कृष्णावतारेषु नियमः, परशुरामबुद्धाद्यवतारेषु मन्वन्तरादिभेदेनानियमः । व्यक्तं चैतत् कूर्मपुराणे मन्वन्तरभेदेनावतारागां केषांचनानियम इति । कौशीतकीब्राह्मणोपनिषदी-न्द्रप्रतर्दनाख्यायिकायाम् "अरुन्मुखान् यतीन् शालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्, प्रह्लादादीननृणम्" इतीन्द्रस्य प्रह्लादादिहिंसनाम्नानं तु प्रहलादस्य गर्भावस्थायां तद्वधार्थमिन्द्रस्य प्रयत्नम्, मात्स्यदेवीभागवतादिसिद्धबलिशासनकाले प्रह्लादस्य देवैर्युद्धम्, महाभारताम्नानं विप्रवेषे-णेन्द्रशुश्रूषणया सन्तुष्टेन प्रह्लादेन स्वमाहात्म्यातिशयनिदानवृत्तधर्मराज्यलक्ष्म्यादिमूलस्य स्वशीलस्येन्द्रेण वररूपेण प्रार्थितस्य वितरणादिकं बहुतरं प्रह्लादचरितांशं च श्रुत्यारूढ-मवगमयति ।

अतः सर्वथा प्रह्लादचरितमिदं श्रौतमिति तदुपष्टम्भनार्थमेव कूर्मवाराहभागवत-द्वयविष्णुपुराणवामनपुराणसौरनृसिंहादिपुराणानां प्रवृत्तिः । तत्र वामनपुराणं विरोचनशासनमधिकृत्य यद्यपि न बहु कथयति । तथापि तस्यापि राज्यशासनकाले देवानां पराजय आसीदित्याद्यवगम्यते । तत्र पूर्वोद्धृतेन ब्राह्मणभागेन प्रह्लादस्य विरोचनस्योपरि कोपः, तेन तस्य भूमौ पातनं चावगम्यते इति तदीयराज्यशासनपद्धतिर्धर्म-विरुद्धाऽऽसीदिति सूच्यते । तत्र कारणं तु छान्दोग्ये इन्द्रविरोचनोपाख्यानतो विशदमवगम्यते । यत्र विरोचनेन नास्तिक्यवादोऽसुरेषु प्रचारित इत्याम्नायते । प्रह्लादो हि स्वपौत्रस्य बलेरपि कदाचन भगवन्निन्दया कुपितो राज्यभ्रंशादिकं भवत्वित्यशपदिति वामनपुराणं श्रावयति । सर्वथा तु बलिराज्यशासनपर्यन्तं निरीक्षकपदेऽवस्थाय तेन राज्य-शासनभारः परं संगृहीत इति वामनपुराणादितोऽवगम्यते ।

तत्र विरोचनस्य देवैः साकं युद्धे यद्यपि पराजय एवासीत्, परन्तु पुराणे कुत्रापि तच्चरितं न विस्तृतं दृश्यते । बलेस्तु देवासुरयुद्धावसरे प्राप्तविजयस्यापि त्रिविक्रमावतारेण भगवदाज्ञया रसातलनिवास एव नियमितः । तथा नियमितस्यापि पुनरपि प्रसक्ते देवासुरयुद्धे कूर्ममत्स्यदेवीभागवतोक्तरीत्याऽत्यन्तं पराजय एवासीत् तदा तस्य देवप्रार्थितजगदम्बाद्वारा हनने प्रसक्तेऽपि प्रह्लादप्रार्थनया कथंचन जीवत एव मुक्तस्य रसातले वासो नियमितः, तथापि तस्य वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरसमाप्त्यनन्तरं सावर्णिमन्वन्तरे इन्द्रपदप्राप्तिः ।

सत्यमेवं प्रह्लादस्य धर्मिष्ठस्य सुशीलस्य सकाशात् युद्धसंभावनया भीतभीतस्येन्द्रस्य द्विजवेषेण प्रह्लादशुश्रूषारतस्य ततः संतुष्टेन प्रह्लादेन वरे दत्ते देवेन्द्रः प्रह्लादस्य "बलं बलवतां चाहं कामरागविवर्जितम्" इति गीतोक्तरीत्या कामरागादिविवर्जितं विशिष्टशीलोपपन्नं च बलमप्रतिद्वन्द्विप्रहलादसकाशात् बव्रे । तेन च तस्य शीलं वृत्तं धर्मः

राज्यलक्ष्मीरित्यादि सर्वं तच्छरीरात् तेजोरूपेणापससार ततो निर्बलः प्रह्लादो वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरान्ते भगवत्सायुज्यमवापेति शान्तिपर्वादितोऽवगम्यते ।

प्रह्लादचरितांशस्तु कूर्मपुराणानुसार्येव साधुरवगन्तव्यः । तथाहि–दितेः कश्यपस्य द्वौ पुत्रौ–हिरण्यकशिपुः, हिरण्याक्षश्च । तत्र ज्येष्ठो हिरण्यकशिपुः ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तनराद्य-बध्यत्ववरः सर्वान्देवान्महर्षींश्च बबाधे । ततो भगवन्तं क्षीरोदशायिनं शरणं गता देवास्तद्वधार्थं प्रार्थयामासुः । तदनुसारं भयानकं कञ्चन पुरुषमुत्पाद्य तद्वधार्थं भगवता स हिरण्यकशिपुसविधं प्रेषितो हिरण्यकशिपुपुत्रैः प्रह्लादादिभिरन्यैः, हिरण्यकशिपुना च युयुधे । अन्ततस्तु पराजितः स भगवत्सविधं गत्वा तदितिवृत्तं श्रावयामास । ततः सञ्चिन्त्य भगवता नृसिंहरूपं धृत्वा स्वयं तेन सह युद्धार्थं गतम् । तत्र हिरण्यकशिपुः कुपितः सानुजं प्रह्लादं तेन सह युद्धार्थं प्रेरयामास । ततः प्रवृत्ते युद्धे नृसिंहेन सानुजः प्रह्लादो निर्जितः । नृसिंहं सनातनं सर्वात्मकं च वासुदेवं विज्ञाय प्रह्लादः स्वयं युद्धादुपरम्यान्यानपि युद्धाद्विरन्तुमाज्ञापयत् । प्रार्थयच्च हिरण्यकशिपुमपि ततो विरन्तुम्, तमेव शरणमधिगन्तुं च परमात्मनस्तस्य गुणगणवर्णनपूर्वकम् । हिरण्यकशिपुस्तु विष्णुमायया मोहितः स्वगृहमागतं कालचोदितमवध्यमपि नृसिंहं स्ववध्यं मत्वा तद्वधार्थ-माज्ञापयामास । प्रह्लादस्तु तत्पुत्रो विहस्य–'हे तात, भूतानामेकनायकम्, तथा तन्नियन्तारमेनं मा त्वमवजानीहि । कथं हि महादेवः कालवर्जितः स्वतः शाश्वतो वा कालात्मा कालेन हन्तुं शक्यते कालरूपधृक् च विष्णुः,–

मा निन्दस्वैनमीशानं भूतानामेकमव्ययम् ।
कथं देवो महादेवः शाश्वतः कालवर्जितः ॥
कालेन हन्यते विष्णुः कालात्मा कालरूपधृक् ॥

इत्यादिनोद्बोध्य तं युद्धान्निवारयामास । निवारितोऽपि यदा युद्धार्थमेव हिरण्यकशिपुः प्रास्तौषीत्, तदा नृसिंहेन नखैर्विदारितः कालवशं गतो मृतश्च । ततो हिरण्याक्षेण युद्ध उपक्रान्ते सोऽपि वराहरूपधारिणा विष्णुना हतः, प्रह्लादस्तु राज्येऽभिषिक्तो विष्णुतत्परो विहायासुरं भावं निःसपत्नं राज्यं स्वधर्मनिरतो विधिवद् भागवतानाराधयंश्च शशास ।

एवं राज्यं परिपालयन्नपि प्रह्लादो देवमायया मोहितः कदाचिदासुरभावेन स्वाभाविकेनाक्रान्तः स्वगृहागतं कंचन ब्राह्मणमहंकारेण न समभाषत ।

तेन कुपितः स ब्राह्मण क्रोधसंरक्तलोचनो दैत्येन्द्रमेवं शशाप–यत्तद्बलमवष्टभ्य त्वं ब्राह्मणानवजानासि, सा तव वैष्णवी शक्तिः क्षयमेष्यति–इति तत्र तमेवमुक्त्वा तूर्णं निर्ययौ । ततस्तु विमोहितः स देवैः, विष्णुना च साकं युद्धार्थं प्रस्तुतः, विष्णुना निर्जितश्च । पूर्वसंस्कारमाहात्म्यात्परस्मिन् भगवति नारायणे यथापूर्वं भक्तिमधिगत्य योगासक्तमानसः स्वपितृव्यपुत्रमन्धकासुरं राज्येऽभिषिच्य राज्यसासनतो विरराम ।

एतदनुरोधेन प्रह्लादचरितनिष्कर्षे तु प्रह्लादस्य हिरण्यकशुपुवधात्पूर्वं द्विवारं युद्धमभूत् । तत्र प्रथमे भगवत्स्वरूपं तेन नावबुद्धम् । तत्र तस्य विजय एव । द्वितीये तु

तदवबुध्य युद्धादुपरम्य तेनान्येऽपि वारिताः, यदेव सौरपुराणे संकलितम् । नृसिंहावतारः स्तम्भादाविर्भावो वा भागवतादिषूपक्षिप्तस्तु प्रह्लादेन हिरण्यकशिपोर्वारणानन्तरं क्रुद्धस्य युद्धक्रमघट्टं मध्ये संयोज्य समर्थनीयः । तेन च न कस्यापि पुराणस्य विरोधः ।

राज्यशासनकाले देवैर्विष्णुना च प्रह्लादस्य युद्धप्रस्तावः, तत्र प्रह्लादस्य पराजयः, ततो राज्यशासनतोऽपि विरम्य योगमार्ग एव तस्यावस्थानमासीदिति योगवासिष्ठतोऽवगम्यते । योगनिष्ठस्यापि तस्य नरनारायणयोरिव दुर्नियम्याहंकारवशाद् नरनारायणाभ्यां सह तस्य युद्धमासीत्तदीयशासनकाल इति त्वन्यदेतत् । एतावत्त्वत्रावश्यमवसेयम्—यत्, प्रह्लादस्याहंकारो ब्राह्मणशापप्रयोजकः न केवलं नरनारायणयुद्धकाले देवीभागवतरीत्या, किन्तु तदनन्तरमपि । तत एव ब्राह्मणशापोऽपि । सति चैवं वामनपुराणे नरनारायणयुद्धं मध्ये संप्राप्य राज्यशासनेऽन्धकोऽभिषिक्त इति कथासन्दर्भोऽपि वामनपुराणीयतपश्चर्यातः पूर्वमेव योजनीयः । नरनारायणयुद्धेऽपि विजयाप्राप्तिः ब्राह्मणशापनिर्बन्धनैवेति योजनाऽपि न विरुध्यते ।

सति चैवं सौरपुराणरीत्या, ब्राह्मणैनातिथिना शप्तः प्रह्लादः कदाचन च्यवनोपदेशमनुसृत्य तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन नैमिषारण्यं प्रस्थितस्तत्र नरनारायणाभ्यां युयुधे । तत्राप्राप्तजयः स तदाराधनां विना विजयो न भवतीति भगवतोपदिष्टः स्वीयराज्यशासनाधिकारमन्धकासुरे स्वीये पितृव्यपुत्रेऽवस्थाप्य तपोऽर्थमगमत् । ततो नरनारायणौ विजित्य स्वराजधानीमागतोऽन्धकादिभिः प्रार्थितोऽपि राज्यशासनाधिकारं न स्वीचकार, परन्तु निरीक्षकपदमात्रं सोऽङ्गीचकार । ततः कदाचनान्धकासुरस्य देवानां च युद्धे यमेन साकं प्रह्लादोऽपि युयुधे । ततो देवानां पराजयेऽन्धकानन्तरं प्रह्लादो विरोचनं स्वपुत्रमभिषिच्य, तस्याप्यनन्तरं तत्पुत्रं बलिं तत्र राज्याधिकारे स्थापयामास । बलिना साकं देवानां युद्धेऽपि प्रथमे देवानां पराजये बल्यादीनां तेषामिन्द्रादिस्थानेऽभिषेकेन प्रह्लादस्तेषां द्वारा त्रैलोक्यशासनं कारयामास ।

ततो दुःखितानां देवानां प्रार्थनया भगवान् वामनरूपेण कश्यपस्यादित्यामुपेन्द्ररूपेणाविरासीत् तस्य गर्भवासमये तत्र तत्र प्रवृत्तान्यवगुणानि शकुनानि दृष्ट्वा किमिदमिति बलिना परिपृष्टः प्रह्लादः भगवदवतारं भाविनमुपदिश्य तत्र भक्त्यतिशयेन तव रक्षा भविष्यतीति बोधयामास । तदन्वहंकारभरितो बलिर्भगवन्तं निनिन्द तेन च क्रुद्धः प्रह्लादः तस्य राज्यभ्रंशो भविष्यतीति शापं प्रदाय पुनस्तेनानुनीतोऽपि भगवच्छरणागतिरेव तव शरणमित्युक्त्वा तीर्थयात्रार्थं प्रस्थितः । तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन बहूनि तीर्थस्थानानि शैवानि, वैष्णवानि, अन्यानि च गत्वाऽन्ते कुरुक्षेत्रं गत्वा तत्रैव वासमकरोत् । एतावता कालेन वामनस्यावतीर्णस्य पंचषाणि वयांसि गतानि । कृतोपनयनश्च स गुरुकुलावासमकरोत् । अवसरे चास्मिन् शुक्राचार्यादीनां प्रोत्साहनेन कुरुक्षेत्रं समागत्य तत्रैवाश्वमेधयज्ञानुष्ठानसंकल्पः बलेः प्रावर्तत । तमवसरमुपलक्ष्य वामनोऽपि स्वाचार्यादिभिः सह तत्रागत्य बलिसविधे पदत्रयं ययाचे । प्राप्तवरश्च स पदद्वयेन त्रैलोक्यमाक्रम्य तृतीयपदार्थं

बन्धो दीयतामिति नियुयुजे । तदा तत्पुत्रेण बाणासुरेण स्वीयमाधमर्ण्यं दुष्परिहरमेवेति वर्णिते पदद्वयप्रदानुसुकृतैर्बले: सावर्णिकमन्वन्तर इन्द्रपदप्राप्तिर्भविष्यति, सांप्रतं तु रसातले एव स्थातव्यमित्याज्ञप्तो बलिः सपरिवारो रसातलं प्राविशत् । प्रविष्टमात्रेण तेन स्मृतमात्रः प्रह्लादः कुरुक्षेत्रात् रसातलमाजगाम । आगतश्च तस्मै भागवतानन्यांश्च धर्मानुपदिदेश । सांप्रतमपि बलिः प्रह्लादशासनानुसारं तदुपदेशानुगुणं च रसातलं सपरिवारः शास्तीति प्रह्लादचरितसंदर्भसंग्रहः ।

तत्र नवतितमाध्यायमारभ्याष्टादशभिरध्यायैरष्टादशपुराणप्रतिपाद्यप्रधानाख्यानसंग्रहावसरे प्रह्लादचरितमधोनिर्दिष्टेषु पुराणेषु वर्तत इति बृहन्नारदीयं संगृह्णाति । तत्र भागवतसप्तमस्कन्धतुरीयाध्यायादि:, विष्णुपुराणप्रथमांशपञ्चदशाध्यायादि:, वामनपुराणगततदीयचरितांशश्च यथावदुपवर्णितः । तत्र ब्रह्माण्डपुराणेऽपि प्रह्लादोपाख्यानं संगृहीतम् । तत्र लिङ्गपुराणे तदुपाख्यानप्रस्तावः शरभावतारं भाविनं लक्ष्यीकृत्य इति तस्यैव तत्र प्राधान्यम् । तत्र हि कुपितस्य नरसिंहस्य निग्रहणार्थं शंभोर्देवप्रार्थनया शरभावतारो वर्णितो विस्तरेण । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणं तु श्रीविष्णुपुराणवदेव संग्रहेण प्रह्लादचरितमनुक्रमते ।

तत्र प्रह्लादवंशानुक्रमिकाविषये ब्रह्माण्डपुराणं विष्णुपुराणेन समानम् यत्रान्धकासुरः सिंहिकाया हिरण्यकशिपुसोदर्याः पुत्र इति वर्ण्यते । वामनपुराणम्, कूर्मपुराणं चान्धकं हिरण्याक्षपुत्रमाचष्टे इति प्रतीयमानो विरोधस्तु सिंहिकापुत्रोऽप्यन्धकः स्वस्रीय स्वपुत्रवदेव हिरण्याक्षेणाभिमानेन रक्षित इति विधया भवितुमर्हति ।

पुराणकर्त्तुर्महर्षिवेदव्यासस्य चिरजीवित्वम्*

पण्डितराजो राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविडः

[Maharṣi Vyāsa, the celebrated author of the Purānas and the Mahābhārata, is traditionally believed to be one of those seven personages who are considered to be *cirajīvins* (long-lived or deathless), the other six being Aśvatthāman, Bali, Hanumat, Vibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa and Paraśurāma; Mārkaṇḍeya, though not included in the list of the seven *Cirajīvins,* is also said to be deathless and is believed to be surviving even during the *Pralaya* or the dissoution of the universe.]

The learned writer in this article has tried to establish the longevity of Vyāsa. According to him longevity or even immortality is quite possible and can be acquired by a Yogin by such means as *tapas* (austerities), *samādhi,* conquest of his *Udāna Vāyu* and use of certain herbs. In support of this statement he quotes from the Kaśyapa-Saṁhitā and the Yoga-Sūtras. Vyāsa was a great Yogin; and by means of his *tapas* and *samādhi* he had undoubtedly acquired great *siddhis* or super-natural powers which must have led to his longevity.

To support his thesis the writer gives another argument also. He quotes certain verses from a commentary (called *Upādhyāya-nirapekṣā)* of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, which record a tradition of the composition of works on the *Rājanīti* or Indian politics. According to this tradition Brahmā first composed a work consisting of one hundred thousand *Adhyāyas* or chapters. This work was then studied and summarised by Nārada, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Viśālākṣa, Bhīṣma, and Parāśara's son Vyāsa. These were the great authors of the works on Indian Politics. This tradition is also corroborated by the Mahābhārata. Now, to study such a huge work as Brahmā's Rājanīti-Śāstra of one hundred thousand chapters and then condense it into a work of ten thousand chapters requires very long life. Hence the sages mentioned above were certainly endowed with very long life. As Vyāsa is also included in the list

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* Purāṇa, Vol VI No 2 (July 1964) pp. 268-284. .

of these sages, he must also have been endowed with such longevity as could entitle him to be included in the list of the seven *cirajīvins.*

Moreover, Vyāsa was the arranger of the four Vedas, and the reputed author of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. Such a stupendous task can only be accomplished by one possessing extra-ordinarily long life. All this has made Maharṣi Vyāsa occupy a most prominent place among the *cirajīvins.*]

इतिहासनिर्धारणाय पुराणानां तद्विषयाणां च भारतीयराजनीतिदृष्ट्या संशोधनमावश्यकमिति पूर्वमेव ('पुराणम्' भाग ३, अंक १) मया लेखद्वारा प्रतिपादितम्। तथा स्वोक्तेऽर्थे प्रमाणतया भारतीयराजनीत्युद्धृतेषु प्राचीनवचनेषु कल्पितत्वाद्याशङ्कनमत्ययुक्तमेव ।

इतरशास्त्रापरिचितयाऽद्भुतया "त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः" इति नीतिरीत्या प्रमाणशब्दपर्यालोचयितृन्यायालयभाव्यधिकार्युत्तमाधिकारि-समस्तप्रजाविनयप्रयोजकतेजोदेदीप्यमानविनीततम-वीरवरभारतीयराजवंशपरम्परागत-निःशङ्कतदर्थानुष्ठानाविदग्धव्यवहारपुत्रोपदेशाद्यनुभावाभिव्यक्त-स्थायिविश्वासादिदुर्घटराजकार्य-सम्पादनसामर्थ्यात्मक-सुमतिभावाभिव्यञ्जकविभावमध्यप्रविष्ट-शास्त्रे कल्पितादिवचनोद्धरणाशङ्कनस्य विना बाधकदृढतरप्रमाणोपन्यासेनायुक्तत्वात् । स्पष्टमिदं १९६१ जानेवरीमासस्य पुराणाङ्के प्रकाशिते "पुराणसंशोधने भारतीयराजनीतेः सम्यगालोचनमावश्यकमि"ति लेखे । एतदर्थं भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायाः समालोचने क्रियमाणे तस्यां परम्परायां तदध्येयशास्त्रे च समीक्ष्यमाणाः पूर्वोक्ता दशविधा विशेषाः, अत्र विषये प्रमाणतया उदाहरणीयतामर्हन्ति । ते च यथा–

१–शब्दप्रमाणस्य प्रामाण्यपरीक्षानिकषः "त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः" इति सूत्रितः एको विशेषः । अयं शास्त्रान्तरे न तथा परिशीलितो यथा भारतीयराजवंशाध्येयराजनीतिशास्त्रे विशेषतः समादृतः । अयं विशेषः–सत्यनिष्ठानां विशेषज्ञानां पुरतः समुपस्थाप्यमानः शब्दप्रमाणस्य सत्यान्वेषणक्षमतामुपपाद्य तदध्येयराजनीतिशास्त्रस्याद्भुतत्वं दर्शयति । (अस्य विस्तरस्त्वस्माभिः पूर्वोक्तलेखे प्रदर्शितो दर्शनीयः)

२–भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायां राजपुत्राः न्यायालयस्य भाविनोऽधिकारिण इति स्थितिः । न्यायासनस्थितेन च सत्यमेवैकमुपास्यम् । तर्ह्येव सत्यप्रियप्रजाजनस्य सर्वात्मना सहयोगो राज्यस्वामिना वस्तुतो लभ्यते, येन राज्यं प्रबलं दुरुच्छेद्यं च सम्भवति । एवं निष्पक्षपातं सत्यस्य स्थापनं न्यायासनस्थेन क्रियमाणं राज्ये स्थैर्यावहमिति आंग्लराज्यकाले तुलाचिह्नं पुरस्कृत्य व्यक्तक्रीक्रियते स्मेत्यद्यापि द्रष्टुं शक्यते । अतस्तदनुसारेण भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायां राजपुत्राः सत्यनिष्ठा यथा स्युस्तथा विनीयन्ते स्मेतिं विशेषो द्वितीयः ।

३–उत्तमप्रकृतिभिः परम्पराघटकैर्भाव्यमिति भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायाः स्थितिः । उत्तमप्रकृतीनां प्रामाणिकप्रवृत्तिष्वेव मनो रज्यतीति प्रकृतिः । एवं स्तृतीयो विशेषः । उत्तमप्रकृतीनां प्रामाणिकप्रवृत्तिष्वेव मनो रज्यतीति प्रकृतिः । एवं

परिपालनाय च सर्वदेवाकार्पण्येन सर्वस्वं प्राणपणेन हर्षेण समर्पयन्तो महावीरचरितं प्रादुरकार्षुः । वीराङ्गनाश्च तथैव हर्षेण स्वात्मानं जुह्वत्यो लोकोत्तरचरितं चेरुः । कथमसत्यनिष्ठा अनुत्तमप्रकृतयः एवमकृपणाः सम्भवन्ति? एवं सत्यनिष्ठाया अभावादेवान्ये मध्यमप्रकृतयो मध्यस्थितिं गताः । अतो मध्यमानां रञ्जनं कल्पितेन विना न भवतीति स्थितिः । उत्तमप्रकृतीनां तु तद्विपरीतेनैवेति नाट्यशास्त्रपर्यालोचने सिद्ध्यति ।[1] एवं राजवंशपरम्परायां भारतीयायामुत्तमप्रकृतिः सत्यनिष्ठा तृतीयो विशेषः ।

४–भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परा स्वीयमतिभावहेतोरकार्यकरणाल्लज्जायाश्च उचिताचरणेन देदीप्यमानतेजसा विभ्राजते स्म ।[2] एवं तेजस्वितयैवाभिभूतासु प्रजासु स्वत एव लज्जया विनय आधीयते स्म । एवमद्भुतेन विनयाधानप्रकारेणैव आरम्भे राज्यसंस्थाया घटना शक्यनिर्माणा समभवदिति स्वीकार्यम् । कथनमन्यथा एवं विनयाधानसमर्थस्याभावे कस्यचिदनुगताः सन्तो राज्यसंस्थां निर्मातुमादौ प्रभवन्ति केऽपि जना इत्यगत्या इतिहासमनुगच्छता तर्केणापि स्वीकर्त्तव्यमेतत् । एवं विधं विनयाधायकं तेजः कुतोऽसत्यनिष्ठानां भविता? एवं विधस्य तेजसो महाकविकालिदासकृतं वर्णनम्[3] अवश्यं मननीयम् । तदिदं सत्यनिष्ठानां मतिविनयसम्पन्नानां तेजश्चतुर्थो विशेषः ।

५–एवंविधराजवंशीया अत्यन्तं विनीता धार्मिकाश्च भवन्ति स्मेत्यत्र रामयुधिष्ठिरादयः उदाहार्याः । एतादृशानां सत्यनिष्ठपुण्यश्लोकानां चरितेष्वादर्शविशेषाः पञ्चमो विशेषः ।

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1. "एवं सकलपुरुषार्थविषया व्युत्पत्तिर्नाट्येन प्रधानस्य राजप्रायस्य क्रियते । प्रकरणेन च मध्यमप्रायस्यापूर्वकुतूहलवतः ।" (अभिनवभारती अ. १८ श्लो. ५६) "नाटकं प्रकरणादपि प्रधानम् । प्रसिद्ध्युपजीविनां हि कल्पनावस्तुसम्भावना अनुभवमूलत्वात्तस्या उत्प्रेक्षा अपि हि प्रमाणागतेष्वेव वस्तुषु स्वातन्त्र्येण योजनामात्रेण व्याप्रियन्ते 'षड्दन्तो हस्ती खे धावती' ति । तेनेतिहासादिप्रमाणसिद्धवस्तुप्रदर्शकं नाटकम् ।" (अ. १८ श्लो. ५०) । "तथा हि कश्चिद्विनेयः प्रसिद्धिमनुरुध्यमानो दृष्ट इति सप्रसिद्धेतिवृत्ते नाटके विनेयः । कश्चित्तु किमेतदपूर्वमित्यप्रसिद्धे वस्तुनि, रूपकान्तरमेव तु तदाभासं तत्सर्वम्, विनेयोऽभिनववस्तुवृत्तकौतुकपरतन्त्र इति समुत्पाद्यवस्तुना प्रकरणेन विनीयते ।(अ. १८ श्लो. ९) ।

   नाट्यदर्पणे–"यस्य पूर्वपसिद्ध एवार्थे कुतूहलमसौ मुनिप्रणीतशास्त्रप्रसिद्धचरितेन नाटकेन राजादिरुत्तमकृतिर्व्युत्पाद्यते, यस्य पुनरुत्पाद्येऽर्थे कुतूहलमसौ वणिगादिर्मध्यमप्रकृतिः प्रकरणेनेति ।" (विवेक २, श्लो. ४)

2. सहजविषययोगाद्विद्याग्रहणम्, अतो गृहीतात्मवत्त्वात् स्वयमनुष्ठित्युपदेशाच्च ततश्च राजा दीप्यमानतेजसा अभिभवन् प्रजाविनययोगनिमित्तं भवति । अतः प्रजाविनये रतः ।" इति । (जयमङ्गला, अधिकरणं १, अ. ५)

3. स न्यस्तचिह्नामपि राजलक्ष्मीं तेजोविशेषानुमितां दधानः ।
   आसीदनाविष्कृतदानराजिरन्तर्मदावस्थ इव द्विपेन्द्रः ॥
   लताप्रतानोद्ग्रथितैः स केशैरधिज्यधन्वा विचचार दावम् ।
   रक्ष्यापदेशान्मुनिहोमधेनोर्वन्यान् विनेष्यन्निव दुष्टसत्त्वान् ॥
   शशाम वृष्ट्यापि विना दवाग्निरासीद्विशेषा फलपुष्पवृद्धिः ।
   ऊनं न सत्वेष्वधिको ववाधे तस्मिन् वने गोप्तरि गाहमाने ॥
   (रघुवंश, सर्ग २, श्लो. ७, ८, १४)

६–असत्यनिष्ठानां मनसापि दुर्धिगमो यो मतिभावः, यस्मिन् सति शास्त्रं निःशङ्कतदर्थानुष्ठानं विदग्धव्यवहारः शिष्यपुत्रहितोपदेश इत्यादिर्भवतीति यैरेतैरेवंविधै-विभावानुभावादिसामग्रीसमवायैर्व्यज्यते स मतिभाव इति साहित्यशास्त्रेषूच्यते[4] । सा सर्वा सामग्री एतेषु राजवंशेषु दृश्यत इति षष्ठो विशेषः ।

७–परम्परया भारतीयराजवंशः एवंविधमतिभाव[5] प्रधानवीररसो मूर्त्तिमानिति दृश्यते नत्वसत्यनिष्ठ उद्धततर इति सप्तमो विशेषः ।

८–वेदे "मतिश्च मे सुमतिश्च मे" इति सुमतिभावो वर्णितः । स च दुर्घटराजकार्यादिनिश्चय इति भाष्यम् (तै. सं., का. ४, प्र. ७, अनु. २) । स्थायिविश्वासरूपमित्रभावस्य परलोकप्रमितिसापेक्षस्य भारतीयराजनीतिरेव सम्पादने समर्था प्रमाणत्रयनिर्णीतार्थकत्वात् । वर्तमानेऽपि भारतीयधार्मिकदाम्पत्यमुदाहरणतया पर्यालोच्यते चेदुक्तार्थस्तर्कारूढो भवितुमर्हतीति । एतादृशा अन्ये बहवोऽर्था अन्यैर्दुर्घटा अद्भुताश्च सन्तो भारतीयराजनीतिद्वारा साधिताः । अत एव मतिभावः सुमतिभावतां गतः । एवंविधसुमतिभावो राजवंशपरम्परायां भारतीयायां पूर्णतया निवसति स्म । अत एव मेगास्थनीसमहोदयस्योद्गारो "भारते तदानीं प्रजाजने गृहिणां द्वारेषु मुद्रणस्यावश्यकता नासीदि"ति । सोऽयं वैशिष्ट्यं भारतस्य भारतीयराजवंशस्य तदध्येयशास्त्रस्य च द्योतयति इत्यष्टमो विशेषः ।

९–भारतीयराजवंशपरंपरायां राजपुत्राः धर्मनिमित्तं स्वेच्छयैव प्राणादिसर्वस्वं समर्पयितुं सदा सन्नद्धा आसन् यथा, तथैव तेषां गुरुजनपरम्परायां च योगिनोऽद्यत्वेऽपि सर्वमान्यतत्तच्छास्त्रप्रणेतारः संसारविषये नितरां निस्पृहाश्चासन्निति "सिकन्दर" (अलक्सान्दर) म्लेच्छपतेः पुरतः समागतानामनेकोदाहरणानां प्रमाणान्युदाहृत्य वक्तुं शक्यत इति नवमो विशेषः ।

१०–एवंविधस्तुत्यमानवताया निर्मात्री सुमतिः सर्वथा शास्त्रानुसरणेन शास्त्रीय-विज्ञानग्रहणेनैव च भवितेति तानि स्तुत्यमानवतानिर्मातॄणि शास्त्राणि प्रतारणापराणि मूर्खकृतानि प्रमादभूयिष्ठानीति करणापाटवपूर्णानीति वा नैव प्रेक्षावता वक्तुं शक्यन्त इति दशमो विशेषः ।

एवंविधा दशप्रकारा विशेषाः पूर्वतने लेखे "आदौ शास्त्रान्धकारे" इत्यादिश्लोक-निदर्शनेनास्माभिर्बीजरूपेण प्रदर्शिता एव ।

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4. "नानाशास्त्रार्थनिष्पन्ना मतिः स्याच्छ्रुतधारिणी ।
संशयच्छेदनैः शिष्यहिताधानार्थदर्शनैः ॥
वर्ण्यते चित्तसन्तोषाद्विदग्धव्यवहारतः ॥" इति
(भावप्रकाश, अधिकरण १)

5. अत्र रामस्योदात्तप्रकृतेर्निसर्गत एव तत्त्वाभिनिवेशिनो मांतर्नाकृत्यविषये प्रवर्तते, न च प्रवृत्तोपारमति, सा च सीतेयं मम स्वीकरणयोग्येत्येवंरूपेण प्रवृत्ता रावणप्रार्थना-लक्ष्मणप्रोत्साहनाभ्यामुद्दीप्यमाना समुपजायमानचिन्तावितर्कव्रीडावहित्थस्मृत्यादिभिः कालोचितोत्तरानुमीयमानैश्च विवेकचातुर्योदार्यधै-र्यादिभिः संसृज्यमानोदात्तरसरूपेण निष्पद्यते । इति ।
(सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणं, परि. ५)

अत एव "पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः" इति वदता कौटिल्याचार्येण राजपुत्राध्येयमर्थशास्त्रमिदमप्यस्मत्पूर्वलेखोक्तनीतिलक्षणलक्षितत्वादितिहासप्रमाणपूरकतयोपन्यस्तम् । तद्रीत्या पञ्चानां पुराणादीनामैककण्ठ्येन निर्णीते वस्तुनीतिहासप्रमाणकर्त्तव्यस्य तथ्यान्वेषणस्य नीतिनिर्णयस्य परिपूर्त्तिर्भवति, नात्र तद्भिन्नस्य कस्याप्यावश्यकतेति "इतीतिहासः" इति सूत्रांशस्थेन इतिपदेन सूच्यते ।

विचारे क्रियमाणे सोपपत्तिकं चेदमुपलभ्यते । तथा हि–अस्मिन् सन्दर्भे मुद्रितायां जयमङ्गलाटीकाया योग्घम्कृतटीकायाः प्राचीनटिप्पणीनां चालोचने वक्ष्यमाणा अर्था समवधार्यन्ते भोजनोत्तराहर्भागे विनोदार्थं धर्मजिज्ञासार्थं चेतिहासश्रवणद्वारा विनयं गृह्णीयादिति विधानम्[6] ।

अत्रोपपत्तिः –भोजनोत्तरसमये विनोदो नाम मनःप्रियाणां शब्दादीनां सेवनम् । तच्च भुक्तस्य परिपाकार्थमनुकूलम् । तदानीं श्रमावहानि कार्यान्तराणि नैव कर्त्तुं शक्यन्त इति वैद्यकशास्त्रादवगम्यते ।

अस्यामवस्थायामितिहासश्रवणे कृते विनोदेन साकं धर्मनिर्णयो नीतिकामशास्त्रानुसारेण वर्तनं धर्म इति चार्वाकपरिभाषया चानुमोदितः सर्वमान्यनीतिनिर्णयः शक्यः सम्पादयितुम् । धर्मनिर्णय एव च विनयपदार्थ इति नाट्यशास्त्रानुसारेण विज्ञायते[7] ।

एवं स्थिते राजनीतिवचनप्रामाण्ये विनोदव्यपेते नीतिमात्रनिलये न्यायालय एव समुपस्थापयितुं योग्यानां प्रमाणसामग्रीणां परिपूर्णे सङ्घटने पुरतः प्रस्तुते सति कस्याश्चित्पाश्चात्यानुगामिन्याः प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमानलक्षणप्रमाणत्रयनिर्णीतेष्टसाधनताककर्मानुष्ठानात्मकनीतिस्वरूपधर्मजिज्ञासाविकलाया विनोदैकफलायाः संस्थाया बहुमतैकफलाया अरुचिकरत्वमात्रेण भारतीयानामाचार्याणां गौरवावहमद्भुतं तथ्यं न निह्नवमर्हति । अत एव चार्वाका अपि "लोकसिद्धो राजा परमेश्वरो नीतिकामशास्त्रानुसारेण वर्तनं धर्मः" इति वदन्तो नीतिनिर्णायकं प्रमाणं सर्वप्रमाणाधिकं मानयन्ति स्म ।

धर्मस्य पर्यायेण नीतेः सकाशात्परिभ्रंशः कस्यापि लज्जाजनक इति स्वाभाविकम् । अतो विनयो लज्जा-भावे समावेशमर्हतीति साहित्यशास्त्रे रसगङ्गाधरकारादिमतं[8] प्रकृतेऽनुरूपमेव ।

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6. "पश्चिममहर्भागं सुखासीनो विनोदधर्मजिज्ञासार्थमितिहासश्रवणे विनयं गच्छेत् । कः पुनरितिहास इत्याह–पुराणमिति । सृष्ट्यादिज्ञानफलम् । तथा चोक्तम्–"सृष्टिप्रवृत्तिसंहारधर्ममोक्षप्रयोजनम् । ब्रह्मभिर्विविधैः प्रोक्तं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्" इति वृत्तं नयापनयाभ्यां सम्पत्तिविपत्तिप्रदर्शनफलम् ।। इति रामायणमहाभारतादि । आख्यायिकोदाहरणं वर्जनसेवनफलं तन्त्राख्यायिकादि । .... धर्मशास्त्रं मानवादि । अर्थसम्बन्धि यत्किञ्चिद्धातुवादादिकं तदर्थशास्त्रमिह गृह्यते ।"
"इति-एवं-ह-स्फुटं, आस-बभूव भुवनकोशादिकम् । इति राज्ञो वृत्तं नयापनयाभ्यां सम्पत्तिविपत्तिप्रदर्शनार्थं भारतरामायणादि ।
"असम्भूतकथावाक्यमुक्तप्रत्युत्तरान्वितम् । निदर्शनार्थमन्येषामुदाहरणमिष्यते ।" यथा तन्त्रपञ्चकादि । इति । (जयमङ्गला टीका प्रथमाधिकरणम्)
7. "एवं विनयोऽत्र धर्मशास्त्रम्" इति । (अभिनवभारती अ. २४, श्लो. ८७)
8. लज्जाया विनयस्य, तर्कात्संशयस्य चापलाद्धाष्टर्यस्य च वस्तुतः सूक्ष्मभेदेऽपि नान्तरीयकतया तदनतिरिक्तस्यैवाध्यवसायात् ।" इति । (रसगङ्गाधरे पृ. ११९) ।

अत्र च "पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः" इति पञ्चधा तत्प्रमाणानि विभक्तानि । तत्राप्युपपत्तिर्यदि समालोच्यते तदापि उपर्युक्त-सिद्धान्तस्यानुकूल्यं तत्र परिदृश्यते यथा–

१–जगतः सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयाः पुराणादन्यतो नैवावाप्यन्ते । अतः पुराणस्येतिहासे ग्रहणमावश्यकम्, "जन्माद्यस्य यतः" (वेदान्त सू. १।१।२) इति वेदान्तसूत्रोक्तं न्यायेनेश्वरसिद्धिद्वारा धर्महेतुत्वात् ।

२–पुरातनानां राज्ञां चरित्रमितिवृत्तमितिहासे परिगृहीतम् । चरित्रेऽनुष्ठानांश-स्तज्जन्यमूल्यवत्फलांशश्चेत्यंशद्वयम् । तत्र कस्यापि सार्वभौमस्य स्वराष्ट्रोपयुक्त-नीतिनिर्णयस्तर्केण चिकीर्षितश्चेत्तदर्थं स्वराष्ट्रे तदानीं राजान्तरस्य दृष्टान्तभूतस्याभावात्, परराष्ट्रे तदानीं सत्यपि, तद्दृष्टान्तेन तदानीन्तनस्वराष्ट्रोपयोगिनीतिनिर्णयायोगात् प्राचीनराजानां नीतिरेव दृष्टान्तत्वेनोपादातव्या आपतति । तत्रापि प्राचीनराजानां नीतिरपि प्रत्यक्षानुष्ठानरूपा नैव तदानीं द्रष्टुं शक्या अतीतत्वात्, किन्तु तद्दीयनीत्यनुष्ठानेन निष्पन्नानां दीर्घकालस्थायिनां मूल्यवत्फलानामवलोकनेन तदीयपूर्वानुष्ठानानां महत्त्वस्यैति-हासिकतानिर्धारणीया भवति । तञ्जापुरस्थबृहदीश्वरमन्दिरस्य शिखरे २०० "फीट" उन्नते समन्ततः १६ हस्तोन्मितमेकं प्रस्तरखण्डं कलशरूपेण समारोपितमत्रोदाहर-णीयतामर्हति ।

प्रायशः १००० वर्षेभ्यः पूर्वनिर्मितेऽस्मिन् देवालये एवं महान् प्रस्तरः केन साधनेनारोपितः? इति कल्पनायां क्रियमाणायां-सुदूरात्तिर्यञ्चं क्रमेणारोहिणं महामार्गं निर्माय ततोऽयं प्रस्तरस्तेन मार्गेण क्रमशो लोढयित्वा उन्नीतः स्थापितश्चेति निष्कृष्यते ।

एवंविधकार्यकारणभावनियमानुसारिकार्येषु प्रत्यक्षेषु दीर्घकालस्थायिषु तत्कर्तॄणां राज्ञां कर्त्तृत्वातिशयो नीतिफलांशप्रत्यक्षवशात्साधयितुं शक्यते ।[9]

३–पञ्चतन्त्रादि आख्यायिकोदाहरणमितिहास इति परिगण्यते । तत्रोपपत्तिर्यथा– अशक्यमिति भासमानं कर्त्तृत्वमपि मनुष्यस्य शक्यकोटौ वर्त्तत इति व्युत्पादनमनेन संसाध्यते । एकमुदाहरणम्–राजपुत्रैः शिबिरादिषु रात्रौ निद्रायामपि तथा सावधानैर्भवितव्यं, यथा सर्षपनिपातशब्देऽपि प्रबुध्य तस्य निमित्तप्रचारादि सर्वं निष्कर्षणीयमित्यर्थशास्त्रे विहितम् । यावद्दिनं तत्कर्त्तव्यकार्याणि कृत्वा श्रान्तेन राजपुत्रेणेदं विधानमशक्यं कर्त्तुमिति प्रतिभायात् । अस्य शक्यत्वमुत्पादनं शुनो निद्रामुदाहृत्य कर्त्तुं शक्यते ।

मनुष्यशरीरे मांसपेश्यः सङ्ख्यया परिपूर्णाः सन्ति, नैवमितरप्राणिनां शरीरेषु । परन्त्वितरप्राणिसदृशपेशीषु मनुष्यशरीरे सतीष्वपि काश्चिच्छुष्का निरुपयोगिन्यश्च वर्तन्ते । आख्यायिकोदाहरणेन तासां प्रयत्नेन पोषणे कृते ताः कार्यक्षमाः सम्भवन्ति । आख्यायिकोदाहरणेन

9. अश्वत्थामा बलिर्व्यासो हनुमांश्च विभीषणः ।
कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ।।" इति ।
(आचारेन्दुनिबन्ध, आनन्दाश्रमसंस्करण, व्यासवचनम्, पत्र सं. २२)

एतादृशविषयाणां व्युत्पत्त्या नीत्यनुष्ठानं शक्यमिति संसाध्यते । प्रात्यक्षिकोपपत्त्या सहैवं व्युत्पत्तिराख्यायिकोदाहरणप्रयोजनम् ।

४–धर्मशास्त्रमितिहासे परिगणितम् । पूर्वोक्ततञ्जापुरबृहदीश्वरगोपुरकलशसदृशस्याद्भुतस्य स्थायिविश्वासस्य निर्माणे धर्म एक एवोपाय । धर्मातिक्रमे परलोकभीतिः, असत्यानुसरणे लज्जा च मनुष्यं प्रधानतया संयच्छतः । अतो धर्मशास्त्रस्य नीतिनिर्णये संग्रह आवश्यकः ।

५–एवमर्थशास्त्रमपि । नीतेर्विषयाणां प्रत्यक्ष-अन्वयव्यतिरेकात्मकप्रमाणद्वारा निर्णयत्वेन सर्वमपि विज्ञानशास्त्रं नीतिनिर्णये इतिहासप्रमाणतया संगृहीतम् । अर्थशास्त्रमित्यनेन सर्वमेव विज्ञानशास्त्रमन्तर्भावितम् ।

एवञ्च सर्वस्य सारांशोऽयमेव यत् धर्मनिर्णयो नीतिनिर्णय एव । स च सुमतिभावफलको मतिभाव इति सङ्गीतरत्नाकरादवगम्यते ।

स च–"अपूर्वप्रतिभानं स्यान्मतिस्तां तु विभावयेत् ।
अन्वयव्यतिरेकोत्थैः प्रत्ययैः शास्त्रचिन्तनैः ॥
ऊहापोहैश्च विविधैरथ तामनुभावयेत् ।"

इत्यादिरूपः सिद्ध्यति । एवंप्रकारेतिहासश्रवणं भोजनोत्तराहर्भागे राज्ञा कर्त्तव्यमिति सोपपत्तिकम् ।

अत्र लेखे समुपस्थापयिष्यमाणं "प्रमाणं लिखितं भुक्तिः साक्षिणश्चेति कीर्त्तितम्" (या. स्मृ. श्लो. २२३) इति याज्ञवल्क्याद्युक्तान्यतमं प्रमाणमपि अनुमानप्रमाणपरोक्षात्मकशब्दप्रमाणान्यतरत्वात्तादृशनीतिलक्षणघटकं इति वक्ष्यमाणवीरमित्रोदयव्यवहारप्रकाशोद्धरणपर्यालोचने सिध्यति । तदुक्तं तत्र–"अनयोश्च साक्षिलेखयोः शब्दाभिव्यञ्जकत्वात् शब्दप्रमाणेऽन्तर्भावः" । तथा हि–यथोक्तगुणवतां दोषरहितानां च साक्षिणामाप्तवाक्यावश्यम्भावात् आप्तवाक्यस्य च प्रामाण्यात्, तदुभयविशेषणवत्तानिर्धारणायैव साक्षिपरीक्षोपदेशः । आप्तवाक्यस्य च वक्तृज्ञानानुमापकत्वेन स्वातन्त्र्येण वा प्रामाण्यमित्यन्यदेतदिति । (वी. व्य. पृ. १५२ पं. ६) भुक्तेस्तु वक्ष्यमाणविशेषणवत्याः स्वत्वहेत्वविनाभावात् स्वत्वानुमापकत्वमिति च । (वी. व्य. पृ. १५३ पं. २५) अत्राप्तवाक्यस्य वक्तृज्ञानानुमापकत्वपक्षो यः प्रथमोपन्यस्तस्तदनुसारेण सर्वेषामेव शब्दप्रमाणानामनुरूपेण परिणमितानां निर्दुष्टप्रमितिजनकत्वं तर्कशास्त्रसरण्या दृढमेव । अत एव बौद्धानामपि तत्रापह्नुतिर्न सम्भवति । एवं च एकमपि तादृशं बाधकदृढतरप्रमाणरहितं वचनं साक्षिरूपेण लिखितरूपेण च यावत् पुरतस्तिष्ठति, तावत् पौरस्त्यनास्तिकीयेनापि न्यायालयेन चार्वाकीयेण बौद्धीयेनापि वा क्रमिकविकासवादिनः आधुनिकपाश्चात्यानुयायिनास्तिकस्यासम्भावनामात्रेण तद्विरुद्धसिद्धान्तस्येतिहासत्वकल्पनं न कर्त्तुं शक्यते ।

परमविरक्ताः योगिनः सत्यवक्तारो भवन्तीत्यत्र भारतीयाध्यात्मिकदर्शनीयस्तर्क एवं प्रथितः साधारणतः असत्यवाक्यं प्रति भ्रम-प्रमाद-विप्रलिप्सा-करणापाटवानि कारणानि । कस्यचिन्न्यायाधीशस्यान्यस्य वा निर्णयः, ततः सत्यतया परिगृह्यतेः, यतः असत्यताकारणानि उपर्युक्तानि न स्युरिति लोके प्रसिद्धम् । भ्रमादिकारणसत्त्वे न्यायाधीशस्यापि

निर्णयः असत्यो भवितुमर्हति । अतएव पुराणे आणिमाण्डव्यऋषिः, सत्यनारायणव्रत-कथायां साधुवैश्यः वास्तवापराधं विनापि भ्रमात् न्यायाधीशेन राज्ञा शिक्षापात्रतां नीतौ । ज्ञानपरिपूर्णो जनः भ्रमाभिभूतो न भवितुमर्हति ।

एवं न्यायाधीशोऽन्यो वा यः किञ्चिद्विधानं शिलालेखादिकं वा करोति, कस्यापि प्रमादेन तत्कृतमसत्यं भवितुमर्हति । मुद्राराक्षसे नाटके मन्त्रिराक्षसगृहगतानां प्रमादात् मन्त्रिणोऽङ्गुलीयकं चाणक्यहस्तगतमभवदिति प्रसिद्धम् । ततश्च तदङ्गुलीयकमुद्रितार्थदूषण-पत्राण्युद्भाव्य भेदनीतिद्वारा मन्त्रिराक्षसस्य पराभवः सुकरोऽभवत् । पूर्णधर्मानुष्ठाता प्रमादेन नाभिभूयते । धर्मातिक्रमणस्यैव नीतिच्युतिरूपस्य प्रमादपदार्थत्वात् ।

न्यायाधीशो यदि लोभेन उत्कोचादिकं गृह्णीयात्तदा तन्निमित्तमसत्यं निर्णयं विदध्यात् । अत्र विषये अधुना उदाहरणानां सुभिक्षैव । वैराग्यं तत्रौषधम् । परमविरक्तो जनो विप्रलिप्सुर्न भवितुमर्हति ।

न्यायाधीशो यदि विक्षिप्तचित्तो भवेत्तर्हि तदाप्यसत्यविधानं सम्भवति । रागद्वेषादिग्रस्तो वा भवेत्तदाप्यसत्यलेखनादिकर्त्ता सम्भवेदपि । उदाहरणमिहैकं पेशवाराज्यकाले नारायणरावमहोदयस्य वधनिमित्तलेखः । तत्र नारायणरावविषये बन्धने अवरोद्धुं धारयेत्याज्ञालेखो निःसारितः । तस्य लेखस्य बन्धनकर्मनियुक्तं प्रति प्राप्तेः पूर्वं मध्य एव धारयेत्यस्य मारयेति विपरिवृत्तिर्द्वेषविकारवता कृता । ततश्च विकार-वशाल्लेखोऽसत्यो जातः । अणिमाद्यैश्वर्यवतां तु नैवंविधकरणापाटवादसत्यता सम्भवति । धर्मज्ञानविरागवशाद्येऽणिमाद्यैश्वर्यशालिनो भवन्ति तेषां वपुषि आधुनिकैर्मेस्मेरिकप्रक्रियेति व्यवह्रियमाणतेजोऽपेक्षयाप्यतीव दिव्यं सद्भावशक्तिसञ्चारसमर्थं तेजः प्रसर्पति, येन न केवलं मनुष्याः, किन्तु तिर्यञ्चोऽपि विकारादिरहिताः सन्तो विनीयन्ते स्मेति विनेयेष्वपि करणापाटवमपाक्रियते । धर्मज्ञानविरागवशादेवंविधैश्वर्यतेजसा देदीप्यमानास्ते पूर्वे भारतीया राजानस्तद्गुरवो योगिनश्चासन्, येषु करणापाटवं कथञ्चिदपि न सम्भाव्यते ।

एवं चतुर्विधकारणैरसत्यविधानं शब्दलेखादिषु सम्भाव्यते । एतेषां मध्ये एकस्यापि कारणस्याभावे कदाप्यसत्यनिर्णयस्य नैव प्रसक्तिरित्येतन्निश्चप्रचम् । न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्य-टीका–तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिग्रन्थावलोकनेऽत्रविषये सर्वं स्पष्टं भवति । कारणाभावात्कार्याभावः सर्वसम्मतो विज्ञानसिद्धश्च । एवञ्चोक्तासत्यताकारणाभावनियतचिह्ननिरतिशयधर्मज्ञान-विरागाणिमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्तानामृषीणां वचनमसत्यमिति न सचेतसा वक्तुं शक्यते । वीर-मित्रोदयव्यवहारप्रकाशस्य पूर्वोपवर्णितोऽर्थोप्यत्रविषये उपष्टम्भको वर्तते ।

भारतीयाः पूर्वे ऋषयः कथमुच्चकक्षाका विद्वांस आसन्निति तेषां शास्त्राण्यवलोकयतां स्फुटमेव । ऋषिकर्तृकाणीतरदर्शनादिशास्त्राणीव राजनीतिशास्त्रमपि तत्कर्तृकं परिपूर्णं सर्वात्मनेति यथा यथा समालोच्यते तथा तथा दूरदर्शिनां स्फुटीभवति । तत्रत्य-स्यैकैकस्यापि विषयस्य व्यतिक्रमे कृते सति घोरघोरतरा विपत्तयः प्रादुर्भवन्तीति इतिहासाद्वर्त्तमानसमस्यावशाच्च स्फुटीभवति । अतो वक्तव्यमापतति, यद्राजनीतिविषयेऽपि ऋषीणां दृष्टिः परिपूर्णेति विमर्शकानां दृष्ट्या विज्ञायते ।

राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेतेषां कर्त्तारो मुनयस्तदध्येतारश्च राजानो राजपुत्रास्तत्सहकारिणोऽमात्याश्चेत्येते सर्वेऽपि विरागज्ञानैश्वर्यसम्पन्नाश्चेद्भवन्ति, तर्हि तेष्वसत्यं कथं पदं दधाति? "अलक्सान्दर" प्रभृतयस्तत्सहयोगिनश्च प्राचीनाः पाश्चात्यमहापुरुषाः पाश्चात्यानां यदि मान्यास्तर्हि तेषामलक्सान्दरादीनां सुतरामद्भुतरसालम्बनीभूताः साश्चर्यमादरपात्रभूता भारतीयाः पूर्वे ऋषयो योगिनो विरक्ताः ह्विद्वांसः सत्यनिष्ठा राजानश्च कथं न पाश्चात्यानामपि माननीया? औद्धत्यमात्रमपहाय नान्यत् किमपि तत्रानादरकारणं सम्भवतीति समनुभूयते इति ।

पूर्वोक्तविचारे प्रमादः करणापाटवं चासत्यताहेतू राजनीत्यधिकृतमात्रवर्तिनौ न भवत इति स्थितिः सम्भाविता, तदनुसारेण कस्यचिद्वचनस्य दूषितत्वाशङ्का च पूर्वोक्तैर्दशप्रकारैर्विशेषैरपनीयत इति सर्वथा सत्यत्वं नीत्युद्धृतानां वचनानां निश्चप्रचम् ।

अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे आलोचनार्हो विषय एकोऽधुना समुपस्थाप्यते । पुराणकर्त्तुर्भगवतो वेदव्यासस्य वर्धापनदिने सर्वैरेवास्तिकैर्महाराजैः सश्रद्धं पूज्यमानस्य चिरजीवित्वं शास्त्रप्रसिद्धं लोकप्रसिद्धमपि । राजनीतिसमुद्धूतेतिहासप्रमाणदृष्ट्याऽस्य विषयस्य सत्तर्कोपष्टब्धत्वे निश्चिते सति पुराणानां धर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्यातिशयवत् पुरुषप्रणीतत्वमैतिहासिकमद्भुतं तत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति । सोऽयं प्रमाणभूतो भारतीयराजनीतेरितिहासो राजनीत्यामेवोक्त एवमुपलभ्यते । यथोक्तमुपाध्यायनिरपेक्षायां नीतिसारटीकायाम् –

"ब्रह्माध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।
तन्नारदेन शक्रेण गुरुणा भार्गवेम च ॥
भारद्वाजविशालाक्षभीष्मपाराशरैस्तथा ।
सङ्क्षिप्तं मनुना चैव तथा चान्यैर्महर्षिभिः ॥
प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय च महात्मना ।
सङ्क्षिप्तं विष्णुगुप्तेन नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये" इति ॥

(कामन्दकी. टी.; जयमङ्गला च अधिकरण १. अ. १)

महाभारते[10]ऽप्येतदनुकूलान्येवेतिहासवचनानि अर्थशास्त्रव्याख्यायां जयमङ्गलायां च दृश्यन्ते । उक्तवचनेषु आयुषो ह्रास उत्तरोत्तरग्रन्थनिर्माणे हेतुरित्युक्त्या चिरायुष्ट्वं ब्रह्मादीनां समर्थ्यते ।

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10. (ब्रह्मा) ततोध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।
"ततस्तां भगवान्नीतिं पूर्वं जग्राह शङ्करः ।
बहुरूपो विशालाक्षः शिवः स्थाणुरुमापतिः ॥ ८०॥
प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय भगवाञ्छिवः ।
सञ्चिक्षेप ततः शास्त्रं महास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ८१॥
वैशालाक्षमितिप्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रत्यपद्यत ।
दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ८२॥
भगवानपि तच्छास्त्रं सञ्चिक्षेप पुरन्दरः ।
सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात! यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ॥ ८३ ॥
अध्यायानां सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पतिः ।

एवंविधं चिरायुष्ट्वमौषधिसेवनेन सम्भवतीत्यायुर्वेदविदो वदन्ति।[11] कश्यपसंहितायां[12] कुमारभृत्ये तन्त्रे एवंविधचिरायुष्ट्वयुक्तानि पूर्वयुगशरीराणि निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति । भृगुसंहिताद्वारा त्रिकालविषयफलादेशकथनदृष्टसंवादे ज्यौतिषेऽपि पञ्चाङ्गकर्त्तृभिरेवंविधा स्थितिः स्वीक्रियते । योगसूत्रेऽपि "उदानजयाज्जलपङ्ककण्ट-" कादिष्वसङ्ग

सञ्चिक्षेप स्वयं बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्यं तदुच्यते ।। ८४।।
अध्ययानां सहस्रेण काव्यः सङ्क्षेपमब्रवीत् ।
तच्छास्त्रममितप्रज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायशाः ।। ८५ ।।
एवं लोकानुरोधेन शास्त्रमेतन्महर्षिभिः ।
सङ्क्षिप्तमायुर्विज्ञाय मर्त्यानां ह्रासमेव च ।। ८६।।
(महाभा. शान्तिप., राज., अ. ५९)

11. ओषधीनां पति सोममुपयुज्य विचक्षणः ।
दशवर्षसहस्राणि नवां धारयते तनुम् ।।
नाग्निर्न तोयं न विषं न शस्त्रं नास्त्रमेव च ।
तस्यालमायुः क्षपणे समर्थाश्च भवन्ति हि ।।
भद्राणां षष्टिवर्षाणां प्रस्नुतानामनेकधा ।
कुञ्जराणां सहस्रस्य बलं समधिगच्छति ।।
क्षीरोदं शक्रसदनमुत्तरांश्च कुरूनपि ।
यत्रेच्छति स गन्तुं वा तत्राप्रतिहता गतिः ।।
कन्दर्प इव रूपेण कान्त्या चन्द्र इवापरः ।
प्रह्लादयति भूतानां मनांसि स महाद्युतिः ।।
साङ्गोपाङ्गांश्च निखिलान् वेदान् विन्दति तत्त्वतः ।
चरत्यमोघसङ्कल्पो देववच्चाखिलं जगत् ।। इति ।
(सुश्रुते, चिकित्सितस्थाने २९ अध्याये कलकत्तामुद्रितेऽतिप्राचीने पुस्तके १५८ पृष्ठे)

12. "कृतयुगे तु नारायणं नाम देहिनां संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते, तस्मात्तदाहुः- तस्य घनं निष्कपालं शिरः, अस्थीनि च सत्त्वास्पदान्याकृतयो वज्रगरीयस्यः, हृदि चास्य महाशिरा दशैव, त्वगस्य शिरश्चाभेद्यमच्छेद्यं, सर्वतोऽस्य शुक्रं, योजनं चास्योत्सेधः, सप्तरात्रं चास्य गर्भवासः, सद्यो जातस्य चास्य सर्वकर्माणि शक्यानि भवन्ति । न चैनं क्षुत्पिपासाश्रमग्लानिशोकभयेर्ष्याऽधर्मचिन्ताधिव्याधिजरा वाधन्ते, न च स्तन्यवृत्तिर्भवति । धर्मतपोज्ञानविज्ञानस्थितियुक्तिश्चातिभवति । तस्य पलितोपमार्ध (?) मायुरुत्कृष्टमाहुरिति । अथ त्रेतायामर्धनारायणं नाम देहिनां संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते । तस्यैकास्थिप्रायं शरीरमाकुञ्चनप्रसारणवर्ज्यं, गर्भवासोऽस्याष्टमासिकः, स्तन्योपजीविका च द्वे शिरस्कपाले, पार्श्वयोरेकैकः सन्धिः, उरसि च, त्र्यस्थिपृष्ठं कोष्ठस्य सिरा विंशतिः, शुक्रं च, पलितोपम (?) चतुर्भागमायुरुत्कृष्टं पूर्वाच्चार्धगुणावसर्पणमिति । अथ द्वापरे कौशिकसंहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते केशमात्रणुसुषिरास्थि, अतिक्षिप्तसन्धिः, महाहस्तिबलः (लं) शिरानुवेष्टितगात्रः (त्रं) गात्रसन्धिषु चास्य शुक्रं, पलितोपमा (?) ष्टभागमायुरुत्कृष्टं पूर्वाच्चार्धगुणावसर्पणमिति । अथ कलियुगे प्रज्ञप्तिपिशितं संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते तस्य षष्टिश्च त्रीणि चास्थिशतानि भृशसुषिराणि मज्जापूर्णानि बलवदासन्नबंधानि चत्वारि मांसपेशीशतानि, सप्तसिरा शतानि हृदयमूलानि, नव स्न ायुशतानि मस्तुलुङ्गमूलानि, द्वे धमनी, शते तालुमूले, सप्तोत्तरं मर्मशतं, त्रीणि महामर्माणि, दश प्राणायतानि, पञ्च हृदयानि, त्रीणि सन्धिशतान्येकाशीता(त्यधिका) नि, चतुर्दशकण्डराः, कूर्चाः द्विचत्वारिंशतः, षट् त्वचः, सप्त धातवः, स्रोतांसि द्विविधानि जातस्य पृथग्दन्तजन्म, दशमासं गर्भवासः, संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं प्रतितिष्ठति, वाचं च विसृजति तस्य वर्षशतमायुरुत्कृष्टं सुखदुःखाधिव्याधिजरामृत्युपरिगतः......... सर्वगात्रः क्षुत्पिपासागौरवश्रमशैथिल्यचित्तेर्ष्यारोषानृतलौल्यपरिक्लेशमोहवियोगप्रायः संसारगोचरः, अधर्मबहुल इति द्वे द्वे युगे सत्त्वरजस्तमोऽन्वये विद्धि ।
(कश्यपसंहिता, कुमारभृत्यतन्त्रम्)

उत्क्रान्तिश्चे"ति (पा. यो. सू. ३-३९) सूत्रद्वारा स्वेच्छामरणसिद्धिरुदानवायोर्जयाद्भवतीति प्रतिपादितम् । तच्च भीष्मप्रभृतिष्वासीदिति महाभारतद्वारा दृष्टम् ।

समाधिभाजां मुनीनामुक्तरीत्या जितश्वासानां दीर्घजीवित्वमोजःकृतात् पुप्फुसहृदययोर्विश्रान्तिसुखलाभात्सम्भवतीति स्थितौ पुराणोपवर्णितं चिरायुष्ट्वं न केनापि प्रमाणेन विरुध्यते । अत एवायुर्वेदोक्तस्य रसायनकल्पस्योक्तयोगसाहाय्येनैव कार्यकरणत्वाद्योगशास्त्रे "जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः" (पा. यो. सं. ४,१) इति सूत्रद्वारा परिकलनं कृतम् । तदुक्तम् तट्टीकायां नारायणतीर्थैः–

"एताश्चतस्रः सिद्धयः पूर्वजन्माभ्यस्तयोगजाश्च जन्मादिनिमित्तेन व्यज्यन्ते । अत एव योगाभ्यासे विश्वासेन प्रवृत्तिः । इह सिद्ध्यदर्शनेऽपि जन्मान्तरे साफल्यादि"ति ।

यद्यपि "शतायुर्वै पुरुष" इति श्रुतिप्रतिपादितशतवर्षजीविनां सहस्रसंवत्सरसत्रयागानुष्ठानं न सम्भवतीत्युक्त्वा तत्रत्यसंवत्सरशब्दो दिनपरतयोपवर्णितो मीमांसकैस्तथापि तस्याः श्रुतेस्तावद्वर्षसम्पादनीयश्वासवान् पुरुषो भवतीत्यर्थकत्वस्य नारायणतीर्थादिभिरुक्तत्वात् कुम्भकाभ्यासवतामधिकायुष्ट्वे नास्त्येव बाधकम् ।

अत एव "आचारात्तु स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा स्मृतेस्तु श्रुतिकल्पनम्" इति मीमांसाप्रतिपादितः स्मृतिकर्तृमात्रगां तदीयाप्रतिहतैश्वर्य्यकृतां यावच्छ्रुतिप्राप्तिं मूलीकृत्य प्रवृत्तः सिद्धान्तो मीमांसकानामेवोपपद्यते । सत्रयागप्रवृत्तानां तु बाह्यकर्माभिमुखतया श्वासप्रवृत्तेर्भावात्तादृशकुम्भकाभ्यासासम्भवात्सम्वत्सरशब्दस्य दिनपरत्वमुपवर्णितं मीमांसकैरित्युक्तेऽर्थे तद्विरोधोऽपि नास्ति ।

अलक्सान्दरेण म्लेच्छपतिना तदीयै"र्मेगास्थनीस" प्रभृतिभिः पाश्चात्यमाननीयमहापुरुषैभारतवर्षीयाणां योगिनां मन्त्रसिद्धानामायुर्वेदविदां सर्पविषचिकित्सकानां च इतः पूर्वं त्रयोविंश- शताब्दीभवैर्दर्शनं तदीयाश्चर्यमाहात्म्यं च दृष्टमिति पाश्चात्येतिहास एवोल्लिखितं सर्वेषामेव सचेतसां दृष्टिगोचरमस्त्येव । अनोऽत्र विषये पाश्चात्या अपि न विप्रतिपत्तुमर्हन्ति ।

विशेषतो याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिव्याख्यायां बालक्रीडायां (आचाराध्याय, श्लो. ३२३,३२८) विशालाक्षबृहस्पत्यादिग्रन्थवचनानामुद्धरणे प्रत्यक्षं दृश्यमाने सति नाट्यशास्त्रटीकायामभिनवभारत्यां (अधिकरण २४, अ. ८८) तदुभयग्रन्थतो निर्धारणीयार्थविशेषोक्तेश्च दर्शने सति विशालाक्षादीनां लक्षाध्यायाद्यात्मकग्रन्थाध्येतृत्वं दशसहस्राध्यायादिग्रन्थप्रणेतृत्वं तदुपयुक्तचिरायुष्ट्वं च महाभारतोक्तं यत्सूचितं नीतिसारटीकायां अर्थशास्त्रजयमङ्गलायां च तत्सर्वथा सम्भवदुक्तिकमेव ।

यथा च राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेतादृशानां पर्यालोचने विशालाक्षादीनां चिरजीवित्वमैतिहासिकतथ्यरूपं सिद्धं भवति, तथैव पूर्वोक्तनीतिसारटीकावचन एव पाराशरपदेन निर्दिष्टस्य समस्तवेदशाखाध्यापकस्य ब्रह्मविदग्रेसरस्य जगद्गुरोर्भगवतो वेदव्यासस्यापि "न तस्य प्राणा उत्क्रामन्ति, अत्रैव समवलीयन्ते" "नोत्क्रामन्ति मुनेः प्राणा व्यापी सर्वगतो हि सः ।" इत्यादिवचनोपष्टम्भेन "यावदधिकारमवस्थितिराधिकारिकाणामि"ति (वेदान्त, अ. ३, पा. ३, सू. ३२), वेदान्तसूत्रस्थापितन्यायेन चिरजीवित्वं स्वीकर्त्तव्यं भवति, योगित्वात् त्रिकालज्ञानित्वं च । अत एव भृगुसंहितादिज्यौतिषग्रन्थवत्पुराणं प्रत्यप्युच्यते--

"पुराणसंहिता तात! ब्रूते त्रैकालिकीं कथाम्" इति । एतद्विरुद्धं व्यासपदवीभृतो बहवो व्यासास्तत्स्थलाभिषिक्ता आसन्तस्यां चतुर्युगपरिवृत्तावित्याधुनिकैतिहासिकद्वारा क्रियमाणं तु समाधानं पुराणेषूपवर्ण्यमानस्य भीष्मादीनां स्वेच्छामरणस्य भविष्यत्कल्क्यादिचरितस्य च कपोलकल्पितत्वाशङ्कापरम् ।

अत एवं विधेषु विषयेषु भारतीयराजनीतिदृष्ट्या पर्यालोचनमेव भारतीयाचार्यगौरवविनाशिनः कूटेतिहासनिर्माणाद्रक्षकं भवेत् ।

उपर्युल्लिखितं नीतिसारटीकान्तर्गतवाक्यं प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमानलक्षणप्रमाणत्रयनिर्णीतेष्टसाधनताककर्मानुष्ठानात्मकभारतीयराजनीतिपुरस्कृतत्वादवश्यमेव विश्वासयोग्यम् । क्रमिकविकासवादिन आधुनिकैतिहासिकस्य मतमाश्रित्यास्य वचनस्य प्रामाणिकताविषये सशङ्का भवामश्चेत्तथा सति तर्कमर्यादामपि लङ्घयेम । तामतिलङ्घ्य च केनापि प्रमाणेनेतिहासं संशोध्य विश्वस्तेतिहासं समधिगन्तुं निर्मातुं च नैवाधिकारिणः सम्भवेम । अत एवोक्तम् –

"यस्य प्रमाणं न भवेत्प्रमाणं कस्तस्य कुर्याद्वचनं प्रमाणमि"ति ।

किञ्च अद्यत्वे इतिहाससंशोधकतया स्वात्मानं प्रख्यापयन्तः प्राचीनराजकीयशिलालेखराजशासन-मुद्रादिसाधनान्यादाय संशोधनं कुर्मः । एतेषां साधनानां विषये प्रामाण्यनिश्चये सत्येव ततो निर्धार्यमाणेतिहासो विश्वासार्हो भवितुमर्हति । तत्प्रामाण्यनिश्चयश्च तत्कर्त्तॄणां प्रामाण्यनिश्चयादेव कर्त्तव्यो भवति । तर्कशुद्धबुद्ध्या तत्प्रामाण्यं निर्णयं चेत्तन्निर्मातारस्तत्रासत्यं न कृतवन्त इति मतौ सत्यामेव निर्णेतुं शक्यम् । एवं च येषां राजादीनां शिलालेखादि किमपि नासत्यतया बुध्यते, तेषां प्रेरकाण्यनुष्ठेयानि च शास्त्राणि प्रामाणिकतां विना कथं भवितुमर्हन्ति? तेषां तादृशानाम्मध्ये येष्वनुष्ठेयेषु च प्रेरकशास्त्रेषु प्रतारकादिप्रकल्प्येतिहाससंशोधकत्वमात्मनः ख्यापयितारो वयं यदि भवेम तदा स्वारूढशाखामेव स्वकुठारेण निघ्नतामौपम्यं स्वस्मिन्नावाहयेम इति ।

पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यम्*

पं. वदरीनाथ शुक्लः

[In this article the learned author demonstrates in the traditional dialectical way that the main theme of Purāṇa literature relates to the metaphysical doctrine of cosmic creation. Although the contents of the Purāṇs are generally spoken of as five-fold, and also as ten-fold, yet in the the ultimate analysis they can all be resolved into the one supreme principle, namely Brahman or Hari as the ultimate cause of the creation and dissolution of the world.]

श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये पुराणानां दशविधं प्रतिपाद्यमुदीरितं यथा–

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।
वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥
(भा. १२।७।९)

देवीभागवते प्रथमस्कन्धस्य द्वितीयाध्याये पुराणानां पञ्चविधं प्रतिपाद्यमुक्तं यथा–

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
(दे. भा. १।२।१८)

अत्र विसर्गस्य सर्गशब्देन, अन्तरस्य मन्वन्तरशब्देन, वृत्तिरक्षासंस्थाहेत्वपाश्रयाणां च प्रतिसर्गशब्देन सम्भवद्विवक्षतयाऽस्य वचनस्य पूर्ववचनाद् विरोधो नाशङ्कनीयः ।

अत्रेदमवधेयम्–पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यं यद्यपि दशविधं पञ्चविधं वा तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितम्, परन्तेषां प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यं तु जगतस्तन्मूलभूतं तत्त्वमस्ति, यत् "पुरा अनिति यत् तत्पुराणम्" इति पुराणशब्दव्युत्पत्तेरनुसारेण समग्रस्य जगत्प्रपञ्चस्य प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वमपि विद्यते, यत एव च सर्वमिदं जगत् प्रवर्तते । इदमेव तत्त्वम् ऋग्वेदस्य नासदीयेन सूक्तेनेत्थमुपवर्ण्यते, तथाहि–

नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं
नासीद् रजो नो व्योमा परो यत् ।
किमावरीवः? कुह कस्य शर्मन्?
अम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ॥ १ ॥

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* Purāṇa, Vol. II, Nos 1-2 (July 1960) pp. 43-51

न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि
न रात्र्या अह्नः आसीत् प्रकेतः ।
अनीदंवातं स्वधया तदेकं
तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किंचनास ॥ २ ॥
(ऋ. वे. १०।१२९)

छान्दोग्यश्रुतिरपि

"सदेव सोम्य इदमग्र आसीद् एकमेवाद्वितीयम्" इत्यादिशब्दैरिदमेव तत्त्वं निर्दिशति । तदस्य पुराणतत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनादेव तत्प्रतिपादकं वाङ्मयं पुराणशब्देन व्यपदिश्यते । तत्र सर्गादीनां वर्णनं तु नितरां निर्धर्मकतया इदमित्थम्भावेन स्पष्टं निरूपणानर्हस्य तस्य तत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनाय तटस्थलक्षणोपस्थापनमात्रफलकम् ।

तत्र यथोपनिषदः

"यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति; यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति" (तै. ३।१) इत्यादिवचनैस्तटस्थलक्षणमुखेन जगतो मूलतत्त्वं वर्णयन्ति । यथा वा "जन्माद्यस्य यतः" (ब्र. सू. १ अ., १ पा., २ सू.) इत्येतद्ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये भगवान् शङ्कराचार्यः –

"अस्य जगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्य अनेककर्तृभोक्तृसंयुक्तस्य प्रतिनियतदेशकाल-निमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य मनसाऽप्यचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गं यतः सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणाद् भवति तद् ब्रह्म" इत्येवं ब्रुवाणस्तटस्थलक्षणेनैव जगतो मूलकारणं निरूपयति, तथैव पुराणान्यपि सर्गादिवर्णनेन तटस्थलक्षणं पुरस्कृत्य तन्मुखेन मुख्यतया जगतो मूलकारणस्य प्रतिपादन एव पर्यवस्यन्ति । अर्थश्चैष श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धस्य दशमाध्याये विस्पष्टमुक्तः, यथा–

अथ सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
दशमस्य विशुद्ध्यर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।
वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाञ्जसा ॥
(भा. २।१०।१-२)

दशमस्य विशुद्धिर्नाम सर्गप्रभृतिषु पुराणानां दशसु प्रतिपाद्येषु दशमस्य इतरसर्वव्यावृत्ततया प्रतिपादनम्, दशमश्च तेषु आश्रयः । स च

आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाध्यवसीयते ।
स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्द्यते ॥
(भा. २।१०।७)

इति वचनानुसारेण जगतो जन्मप्रलयोराधारहेतुभूतं तत्त्वम् । अयमाश्रयः श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये अपाश्रयशब्देन व्यवहृतः प्रकारान्तरेण लक्षितश्च, यथा–

व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु ।
मायामयेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ॥
(भा. १२।७।१९)

तदेवम्भूतेन कृत्स्नेन पर्यालोचनेनायमेव निष्कर्षो निर्गलति यत् सम्पूर्णस्यास्य विश्वस्य मूलहेतुभूतं पुराणं तत्त्वमेव सर्वेषां पुराणानां प्रधानतमं प्रतिपाद्यम्, सर्गादिकं च तत्प्रतिपादनोपायतया गौणं प्रतिपाद्यम्, अत एव पुराणसम्बन्धे इदं प्रसिद्धिरपि संगच्छते,
"आदावन्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्वत्र गीयते ।" इति ।

"हरति यः स हरिः" इतिव्युत्पत्या प्रागभावलक्षणाया अनभिव्यक्तिलक्षणाया वा असत्तायाः, असमये विनाशस्य तिरोधानस्य वा सम्भावनायाः, समये स्वतन्त्रसत्तायाः पृथगभिव्यक्तेश्च वा हरणाद् विश्वस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गानां हेतुरेव हरिशब्दार्थः ।

तत्र

दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।
केचिद् पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन्! महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥
(भा. १२।७।१०)

इतिवचनानुसारेण दशलक्षणैः पञ्चलक्षणैर्वा विशिष्टानि पुराणानि मार्कण्डेयपुराणे अष्टादश परिगणितानि, यथा–

ब्राह्मं पाद्मं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा ।
तथाऽन्यन्नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेयं च सप्तमम् ॥
आग्नेयमष्टमं प्रोक्तं भविष्यं नवमं स्मृतम् ।
दशमं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं नृसिंहैकादशं तथा ॥
वाराहं द्वादशं प्रोक्तं स्कान्दमत्र त्रयोदशम् ।
चतुर्दशं वामनकं कौर्मं पञ्चदशं तथा ॥
मात्स्यं च गारुडं चैव ब्रह्माण्डं च ततः परम् ॥
(भा. १२।७।१०)

देवीपुराणे उपपुराणान्यपि उल्लिखितानि सन्ति, यथा–

तथैवोपपुराणानि शृण्वन्तु मुनिसत्तमाः ।
सनत्कुमारं प्रथमं नारसिंह ततः परम् ॥
नारदीयं शिवं चैव दौर्वाससमनुत्तमम् ।
कापिलं वामनं चैव तथा चौशनसं स्मृतम् ॥
वारुणं कालिकाख्यं च साम्वं नन्दिकृतं शुभम् ।

सौरं पाराशरप्रोक्तमादित्यं चातिविस्तरम् ॥
माहेश्वरः भागवतं वासिष्ठं च सविस्तरम् ।
एतान्युपपुराणानि कथितानि महात्मभिः ॥
(दे. पु. १।३।१३-१६)

एतेषु सर्वेषु पुराणेषु उपपुराणेषु च प्रतिपादितं जगन्मूलभूतं पुराणतत्त्वं किमात्मकम्, कथं च ततो जगतः प्रादुर्भावः, कथं वा विरुद्धतया प्रतीयमानानां तत्प्रतिपादकानां विभिन्नपुराणवचनानां सामञ्जस्यमिति विषये संक्षेपेण पुराणानुरोधेनैव किञ्चित्प्रस्तूयते ।

श्रीमद्भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धस्य पञ्चमाध्याये प्रोक्तम्–

भगवानेक आसेदमग्र आत्माऽत्मनां विभुः ।
आत्मेच्छानुगतावात्मा नानामत्युपलक्षणः ॥
स वा एष तदा स्त्रष्टा नापश्यद् दृश्यमेकराट् ।
मेनेऽसन्तमिवात्मानं सुप्तशक्तिरसुप्तदृक् ॥
सा वा एतस्य संद्रष्टुः शक्तिः सदसदात्मिका ।
माया नाम महाभाग ययेदं निर्ममे विभुः ।
कालवृत्त्या तु मायायां गुणमय्यामधोक्षजः ।
पुरुषेणात्मभूतेन वीर्यमाधत्त वीर्यवान् ॥
(भा. ३।५।२३-२६)

एतद्वचनानुसारेण सृष्टे पूर्वं जगद्धेतुभूतं किमप्येकं तत्त्वं विद्यते, तस्य माया दृक् चेति द्वे शक्ती स्तः । तदानीं मायायाः केवलं सरूपाः सूक्ष्मतमा वृत्तयः सुप्तस्य श्वासगतय इव जायन्ते, अतः सा तदानीं सुप्ता कथ्यते । दृक्शक्तिश्च सततमेकरूपतया तदानीमपि प्रबुद्धैव भवति । तदानीन्तनो मायायाः सूक्ष्मवृत्तिसन्तान एव तात्कालिकः कालप्रवाहो भवति, एतत्प्रवाहान्तःपातिनो मायावृत्त्यात्मकस्य कस्यचित्कालविशेषस्योपस्थितौ शक्त्यधिष्ठानभूतं तत्त्वं मायाख्यायां शक्तौ वीर्याधानं करोति, इदं च वीर्याधानमाधारभूतेन तत्त्वेनाधेयभूताया मायाशक्तेः विलक्षणः क्षोभ एव, तत्र प्रथमः क्षोभः स्रष्टव्यस्य जगत आलोचनरूपः, यः "तदैक्षत" इत्यादिश्रुत्या ईक्षणात्मको वर्णितः, द्वितीयश्च क्षोभो बहुभवनसंकल्परूपः, यः "सोऽकामयत, एकोऽहं बहु स्यां प्रजायेय" इति श्रुत्या निर्दिष्टः, तयोः क्रमिकोद्भवानन्तरं महत्तत्त्वप्रभृतीनां कारणतत्त्वानां प्रादुर्भावः, ततश्च ग्रन्थोक्तक्रमेण सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिः ।

अयमेवार्थो ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे प्रथमद्वितीयाध्याययोरित्थमुपवर्णितः –

ज्योतिःसमूहं प्रलये पुराऽऽसीत्केवलं द्विज ! ।
सूर्यकोटिप्रभं नित्यमसंख्यविश्वकारणम् ॥
(ब्र. वै. १।२।४)

दृष्ट्वा शून्यमयं विश्वं गोलोकं च भयंकरम् ।
निर्जन्तु निर्जलं घोरं निर्वातं तमसाऽऽवृतम् ॥
वृक्षशैलसमुद्रादिविहीनं विकृताकृतम् ।
निर्भूतिकं च निर्धातु निःशस्यं निस्तृणं द्विज ॥
आलोच्य मनसा सर्वमेक एवासहायवान् ।
स्वेच्छया स्रष्टुमारेभे सृष्टिं स्वेच्छामयः प्रभुः ॥
(ब्र. वै. ३।१-३)

अत्रापि सृष्टेः प्राक् एकमात्रस्य ज्योतीरूपस्य जगन्मूलस्य सत्त्वं तदिच्छया ततो जगज्जन्मनश्च प्रतिपादनं कृतम्, तदिच्छा च विविच्यमाना तदुपाश्रिताया अनादि-शक्तेर्मायायाः संक्षोभव्यतिरेकेण स्वरूपसत्तां नासादयितुमीष्टे ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणस्य प्रकृतिखण्डस्य द्वितीयेऽध्याये जगज्जन्मवर्णनप्रसङ्गेनेत्थमभिहितम्—

जगतः प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वं वर्तमानस्य जगन्मूलकारणस्य आत्मा, ब्रह्म, कृष्ण इति नामानि सुप्रथितानि, मूलतत्त्वरूपः कृष्णः स्वांशे भूतेन कारणेन प्रेरितः सृष्टेः विधित्सया आत्मानं प्रकृतिपुरुषरूपेण द्विधा व्यदधात् । द्विधा भूतयोस्तयोः कामक्रीडात्मकः संघर्षः सुचिरं प्रावर्तत, संघर्षस्योष्मस्वेदश्वासानिवार्यफलकतया तस्मादूष्मस्वेदश्वासा अजायन्त, तत ऊष्मणोऽग्निः, स्वेदाज्जलम्, श्वासाच्च वायुरुदपद्यत, एतादृशस्य संघर्षस्य गर्भधारणं सुनिश्चितः परिणामः, अतः प्रकृतिरप्येतत्संघर्षवशाद् गर्भमदधात्, शतमन्वन्तरात्मके काले गते तस्माद् गर्भादेकं तेजोगोलकं प्रादुरभवत्, सुचिरप्रतीक्षाऽनन्तरं जडप्रसवदर्शनेन दुःखिता प्रकृतिः कोपवशात्तद्गोलकं जले प्राक्षिपत्, अनया घटनया क्रुद्धः कृष्णः "त्वयाऽपत्यपालनं न कृतमतस्ते सन्ततयो निरपत्या भविष्यन्ति" इत्येवं प्रकृतिमशपत्, ततः प्रकृतेर्जिह्वाग्रात् सरस्वत्याः, वामभागात् लक्ष्म्याः, दक्षिणभागाच्च राधाया जन्माभवत् । तदानीं कृष्णस्य वामभागः चतुर्भुजपुरुषात्मना दक्षिणभागश्च द्विभुजपुरुषात्मना पर्यणमत । सरस्वतीं लक्ष्मीं च चतुर्भुजः, राधां च द्विभुजो मायात्वेन पर्यगृह्णात् तदनु चतुर्भुजस्याङ्गात् अनेके चतुर्भुजाः पार्षदाः, कृष्णस्य लोमकूपात् असंख्या गोपाः, राधायाः लोमकूपाच्च असंख्याः सुन्दर्यो जन्म प्राप्नुवन् । तदानीमेव कृष्णस्य शरीराद् दुर्गा, ब्रह्मा, शिवश्चाविरभवन्, प्रकृत्या जले प्रक्षिप्तं तेजोगोलकं बहुकालानन्तरमेकस्मिन् दिने सहसा निरभिद्यत । निर्भिद्यमानात्तस्मादेकः शिशुरजायत, स आत्मानमसहायं दृष्ट्वा रोदितुमारभत, रुदतस्तस्य सहसा ज्ञानमुदमीलत्, ज्ञानसम्पन्नः स सनातनं ब्रह्मज्योतिः कृष्णात्मनाऽध्यायत् । ध्यानेन प्रीतः कृष्णः तत्साक्षात्कारगोचरीभूय तमनन्तब्रह्माण्डाधारं निष्कामं निर्भयं सर्वथा परिपूर्णं महाविराड्रूपं महाविष्णुमकरोत्, ततः कियति काले व्यतीते तन्महाविराट्सकाशात् क्षुद्रविराड्रूपस्य क्षुद्रविष्णोर्जन्माभवत्, तस्य च नाभिकमलाद् ब्रह्माऽजायत, स च दीर्घेण तपसा कृष्णात् सामर्थ्यं प्राप्य विविधं विश्वमसृजत् ।

अनेन वर्णनेनापि इदमेव सिध्यति यज्जगतः पूर्वं तद्धेतुभूतं शक्तिसम्पन्नं किमप्येकमेव मूलं भवति यतस्तस्य जन्मादिकमभिनिर्वर्तते ।

इदमेव तत्त्वं विभिन्नैस्तत्त्वचिन्तकैः क्वचिद् ब्रह्म, क्वचित् परमेश्वरः, क्वचिद् विष्णुः, क्वचित् शिवः, क्वचिद् देवी, क्वचिच्च शून्यमित्येवं विविधैः शब्दैर्व्यवहृतमस्ति, तत्सहभूता शक्तिश्च अविद्या-माया-लक्ष्मी-शिवा-संवित्प्रभृतिभिः शब्दैर्व्यपदिष्टा विद्यते ।

शक्तिः शक्तिमतो भिन्नाऽभिन्ना वेति विवेचनप्रस्तावे देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य षष्ठाध्याये देव्या भणितं यत्–

सदैकत्वं न भेदोऽस्ति सर्वदैव ममास्य च ।
योऽसौ साऽहमहं योऽसौ भेदोऽस्ति मतिविभ्रमात् ।
आवयोरन्तरं सूक्ष्मं यो वेद मतिमान् हि सः ।
विमुक्तः स तु संसारान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः ॥
एकमेवाद्वितीयं वै ब्रह्म नित्यं सनातनम् ।
द्वैतमाद्यं पुनर्याति काल उत्पित्सुसंज्ञके ॥
यथा दीपस्तथोपाधेर्योगात् सञ्जायते द्विधा ।
छायेवादर्शमध्ये वा प्रतिबिम्बं तथाऽवयोः ॥
भेद उत्पत्तिकाले वै सर्गार्थं प्रभवत्यज ।
दृश्यादृश्यविभेदोऽयं द्वैविध्ये सति सर्वथा ॥
नाहं स्त्री न पुमांश्चाहं न क्लीबं सर्गसंक्षये ।
सर्गे सति विभेदः स्यात् कल्पितोऽयं धिया पुनः ॥

(दे. भा. ३।६।२-७)

एतेषु पद्येषु शक्तिरूपाया देव्याः शक्तिमद्रूपस्य परमात्मनश्च अभेदस्य सत्यत्वं भेदस्य च कल्पितत्वं स्पष्टमुक्तम् । अतो जगतो मूलकारणस्य परमेश्वरशब्देन परमेश्वरीशब्देन वा व्यपदेशो न किञ्चिदनौचित्यमञ्चति । ये किल शक्तिं प्रकृतिशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च पुरुषशब्देन व्यवहृत्य प्रकृतेर्जडतां पुरुषस्य चैतन्यरूपतां च वदन्तस्तयोर्भेदमामनन्ति, शक्तिं वा मायाशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च ब्रह्मशब्देन व्यपदिश्य तयोर्जडत्वचेतनत्वे प्रतिपादयन्तस्तयोर्भेदं ब्रुवन्ति ते तयोस्तत्त्वज्ञातारो नूनं न भवन्ति । यतस्तथाऽभ्युपगमे पुराणेषु तयोरनन्यत्वप्रतिपादनपराणि सहस्रसो वचनानि नोपपादयितुं शक्येरन्, लक्ष्मीदुर्गाराधाप्रभृतीनां प्रकृतित्वं चैतन्याविनाभूतं निग्रहानुग्रहसामर्थ्यं तत्र तत्र वर्ण्यमानं जगतामद्वितीयमूलहेतुत्वं च कथञ्चिदपि संगमयितुं न शक्येत । अतोऽयमेवाभ्युपगमो न्याय्यः समुचितश्च प्रतिभाति यत् प्रकृत्यादिशब्दव्यपदेश्या शक्तिः पुरुषपरेमश्वरादि- शब्दव्यपदेश्यः शक्तिमाँश्च प्रभाप्रदीपाविव नितरामयुतसिद्धौ । सत्त्वरजस्तमोरूपाया अनादिप्रकृतेः सच्चिदानन्दरूपस्य पुरुषस्य च अन्योन्यविच्छुरितं स्वरूपमेव परमेश्वर्याः परमेश्वरस्य वा वास्तविकं रूपम् । अन्योन्यविच्छुरणं चैतत् न अद्वैतवेदान्तिनाम् अन्योन्यस्मिन् अन्योन्यात्माऽवभासलक्षणाध्यासः, न वा शाब्दिकानां भेदसहवर्त्यभेदरूपं तादात्म्यम्, न वा गौडीयवैष्णवानाम् अचिन्त्यभेदाभेदः, न च स्याद्वादिनां सापेक्षभेदाभेदः,

किन्तु अनाद्यनन्तस्वभावोऽन्योन्यानुवेधरूपो विचित्रः संसर्गः, स च "इमावन्योन्यसम्भिन्नौ" इति प्रतीतिसाक्षिकः स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेषः । विच्छुरणं चेदं त्रिकालसत्यं न कदाप्यपक्षीयते । यदि कदाचित् सर्वप्राणिसंमोक्षमूलको महाप्रलयः सम्भविष्यति तदाऽपि विच्छुरणमिदं नापयास्यति, किन्तु प्रकृतेः सूक्ष्मवृत्तिसन्तानस्वरूपः कालावच्छेदप्रवाह एवापुनरावृत्तिभावेन विरंस्यति, येन क्षोभकालाभेन प्रकृतिः सर्गौपयिकं परिणामं पुनर्न कदापि लप्स्यते, अपि तु सर्वथा निष्क्रिया सती सच्चिदानन्दात्मना नितान्तं शान्तभावेनावस्थास्यते । अथवा तदानीमपि सरूपाः परिणतीः प्राप्नुवानाऽपि प्रकृतिः कस्यापि जीवादृष्टस्यानवशिष्टतया जीवकर्मकर्मात्मनः सहकारिणो वैकल्येन प्रपञ्चौपयिकं प्रक्षोभं न प्राप्स्यति । अतो न तदुत्तरं पुनरपि संसारप्रसारप्रसक्तिः । अन्योन्यविच्छुरणशब्दप्रयोगश्च तयोरेकान्तत एकत्वे न युज्यत इत्यभिन्नयोरपि तयोः किञ्चित्सूक्ष्मतरमन्तरमास्थीयते, अन्तरं चेदं न भेदः, अपि तु तदनन्यत्वेऽपि तदसाध्यसाधकत्वं तदनुवेद्यं वा यत्किञ्चिद् दुरवगाहरूपम् । तत्प्रतिपत्तिसाधनमेव मानवस्य महत्तमं कर्तव्यम् । तच्चातीव दुर्ग्रहतया शास्त्रोक्तप्रकारेण योगविधेरनुष्ठानसातत्येनैव साध्यम् ।

इदमेव सर्वमभिसन्धाय देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये ब्रह्मणाऽभिहितम्—

अनदिनिधनौ विद्धि सदा प्रकृतिपूरुषौ ।
विश्वासेनाभिगम्यौ तौ नाविश्वासेन कर्हिचित् ॥ ११ ॥
चैतन्यं सर्वभूतेषु यत्तद्विद्धि परात्मकम् ।
तेजः सर्वत्रगं नित्यं नानाभावेषु नारद ॥ १२ ॥
तं च तां च महाभाग व्यापकौ विद्धि सर्वगौ ।
ताभ्यां विहीनं संसारे न किञ्चिद् वस्तु विद्यते ॥ १३ ॥
तौ विचिन्त्यौ तदा देहे मिश्रीभूतौ सदाऽव्ययौ ।
एकरूपौ चिदात्मानौ निर्गुणौ निर्मलावुभौ ॥ १४ ॥
या शक्तिः परमात्माऽसौ स योऽसौ परमात्मता ।
अन्तरं नैतयोः कोऽपि सूक्ष्मं वेद च नारद ॥ १५ ॥
अधीत्य सर्वशास्त्राणि वेदान् साङ्गाँश्च नारद ।
न जानाति तयोः सूक्ष्ममन्तरं विरतिं विना ॥ १६ ॥

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"पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनस्य स्वागतसमितेरध्यक्षाणां तत्र भवतां काशिनरेशानां डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानां स्वागताभिनन्दनम्"

॥ श्रीविश्वनाथो विजयते ॥

जयति सकलसिद्धैराश्रितः श्रौतधर्मः
स्फुरति गगनगामिन्यस्य सा वैजयन्ती ।
जयति भगवती सा नैकरूपैकरूपाऽ-
प्यविदितपरतत्त्वा शाश्वती वेदवाणी ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमन्तः श्रुतिशास्त्ररक्षणपरा विद्वद्वरेण्या द्विजाः
सभ्याः संस्कृतचिन्तकास्तदनुगा ये भारतीया जनाः ।
ये राष्ट्रान्तरतः सुदूरत इहाऽऽयाताश्च सम्मेलने
तेषां संस्कृतहार्दिनां सकुतुकं कुर्मः शुभं स्वागतम् ॥ २ ॥

विज्ञानं विपुलं जनेषु वितरत् सर्वार्थसंसाधकं
स्वाध्यात्मं विकिरद् विवेकममलं लोके महाह्लाददम् ।
भोगासक्तिपथाद्वियोज्य गमयन्मुक्तेः सुमार्गे जनान्
कल्याणं बहुलं प्रकुर्वदनिशं संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥

सौजन्यं जनतामनस्सु जनयत् सौहृद्यमुद्योतयत्
शीलं सङ्कलयन्नितान्तललितं विश्वेऽखिलं सर्वदा ।
वृत्तं शास्त्रसमर्थितं शुभकरं संशिक्षयन् मानवान्
मर्त्यान् धर्मपथं नयच्च नितरां संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ४ ॥

शिष्टानां व्यवहारनीतिमखिलां नीतिं धरित्रीपतेः
दुष्टानां दमनस्य नीतिममलां सद्धर्मनीतिं सताम् ।
सर्वानुच्चविचारवर्त्मसु नरानारोहयच्च् श्रेयसे
सच्छास्त्राणि च पाठयत्प्रतिदिनं संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥

जीवान् बोधयदुत्तमामतिहितामध्यात्मविद्यां प्रियां
योगानामपि विद्यया मतिमतां स्वान्तं समापूयता ।
मन्त्राणां शुभशिक्षया च विदुषां सम्मोदयन्मानसं
तन्त्राद्यैश्च विनोदयद् बुधवरान् संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ६ ॥

काश्यां पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतमहासम्मेलनेऽस्मिन् मुदा
श्रीमद्भिः स्वपदार्पणेन सुमहान् लोकोपकारः कृतः ।
सत्यं तद्भवतां प्रयासेन इह श्रौताध्वना संस्कृतेः
राष्ट्रे सुस्थितिसंस्थितिर्यदि भवेत् सम्मेलनं सार्थकम् ॥ ७ ॥

सम्मेलने समायाताः सर्वे नन्दन्त सज्जनाः ।
सर्वेषामेव मान्यानां कुर्मः स्वागतमादरात् ॥ ८ ॥

WELCOME ADDRESS BY H.H. MAHARAJA Dr. VIBHUTI NARAIN SINGH, CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE Vth WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

VICTORY TO LORD VIŚVANĀTHA

Victory to the Vedic Dharma followed by all persons of highest achievement. Here shines its far-famed flag of victory reaching the highest sky. Victorious is the eternal voice of the Vedas, the goddess, which, though assuming various forms, is one in essence and is still inscrutable.

O You honourable scholars devoted to the protection of the Vedas and the scriptures, and you Indian friends concerned with Sanskrit, who follow them, and you who have come here to attend the Conference from far-off countries–we are happy to welcome you all, O lovers of Sanskrit.

Serve you the Sanskrit which provides to the people the highest knowledge that satisfies all the needs, provides spiritual knowledge and pure discrimination that brings about great joy, leads men to the path of deliverance drawing them away from the alluring path of enjoyment and delivers great bliss at all times.

Serve you the Sanskrit which nurtures noble feeling in the minds of men, encourages friendly feeling, advocates always the most pleasing conduct for the whole World, teaches good conduct approved by the scriptures and leads men always to the path of Dharma.

Serve you the Sanskrit which leads all men to the realisation of lofty ideals for their welfare by prescribing for them the standard conduct of the cultured, of the ruling kings and of noble men as to how the wickeds are to be controlled, and the harmless ways of piety and teaches the useful scriptures.

Serve you the Sanskrit which inculcates in man the best and most beneficial spiritual knowledge, purifies the minds of the accomplished by imparting the knowledge of the Yoga Vidyā, pleases the hearts of the scholars by the laudable teaching of the mantras and by means of the Tantric lore.

O You gentlemen, you have rendered a great service to humanity by willingly coming here at Kashi in this fifth World Sanskrit Conference. Really, if by your efforts the Vedic culture attains its permanent place of honour in this country, the conference will be successful.

Happy and prosperous be the noble delegates who come to attend the Conference. We extend our respectful welcome to all the honourable participants.

वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयेनायोजितस्याखिलभारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य चतुर्विंशतिसमसभारोहावसरे (१२-१०-६८ दिनाङ्के) स्वागताध्यक्षैर्विश्वविद्यालयस्यास्य प्रतिकुलपतिभिः काशीनरेशैर्महामहिम डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहाभागैः सम्भाषितं

स्वागतभाषणम्*

सभापतिमहाभागाः समवेताः पारिषदाश्च !

अथ वाराणस्यामस्यां संयोजिते प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य चतुर्विंशतितमे समारोहे समवेतानामत्रभवतां कृते नितान्तप्रीतिनिर्भरं स्वागतमुपहरामि । अस्य विशालस्य भारतवर्षस्य सुदूरेभ्यः प्रान्तेभ्यो बहिःस्थितेभ्यः स्थानेभ्यश्च भवन्तः सम्मेलनमिदं सफलयितुमत्र समागता विराजन्ते । अत्रभवन्तः सम्मेलनेऽस्मिन् विमर्शपराणां नानाविधानां विद्यानामभिवृद्धये प्रभूतमपि क्लेशमुररीकृत्य वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्याभिराम-मनोहरं प्राङ्गणं स्वागमनेनालंकृतवन्त इति स्मारं स्मारं वयमतीव प्रमोदामहे ।

त्रिकण्टकविराजितायां वाराणस्यामस्यां भवतामागमनार्थं स्वागतं व्याहरामः । विश्वस्मिन् जगति नेदृशी वर्तते काऽप्यन्या नगरी, या इतः प्राचीनतमा जनतायाश्च श्रद्धानिबन्धनी भवेत् । काश्या नामोच्चारणमपि हिन्दूनां हृदये महान्तं प्रेमभरमाविष्कुरुते । धार्मिकपवित्रतायाः शास्त्रीयपाण्डित्यस्य चाच्छिन्नं प्रवहन्तं सम्प्रदायं प्रकटयन्ती वाराणसी विश्वेषामार्यजनानां हृदि प्रभूतां श्रद्धामुत्पादयति । जैनानां बौद्धानां चापि कृते एषा पवित्रतामावहति । जैनधर्मस्य तीर्थंकरेषु उपान्तिमस्तीर्थंकरः श्रीपार्श्वनाथः काश्यामेव जन्म लेभे, निखिलान् जनसन्तापान् दूरीकर्तुम् इत एव स्वीयमहिंसासन्देशं प्रचारयामास । चीनदेशे, जापाने, ब्रह्मदेशे, सिंघले, कम्बुजे वा लब्धजनुषां विश्वेषां बौद्धधर्मानुयायिनामपि कृते सैषा वाराणसी किमपि पावनत्वं भजते यतस्तथागतेन शाक्यमुनिना धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनं विदधताऽत्रैव ऋषिपत्तन अष्टाङ्गिकमार्गस्य वैशिष्ट्यं समुद्घोषयता बौद्धधर्मस्य कोऽपि देशना विहिता । तान्त्रिकसाधनायाः पीठस्थलीत्वेनापि न न्यूनतरं प्रथते काशी । समग्रे भारतवर्षे व्याप्तिं समश्नुवानस्य तान्त्रिकत्रिकोणस्य कोणभूताः प्रकाशन्ते कामरूप-कश्मीर-केरलाख्याः ककाराद्यवर्णका देशविशेषाः । एतस्य त्रिकोणस्य केन्द्रभूतेयं तद्रूपैव ककाराद्यक्षरा काशी धर्मानुसन्धानपराणां केषां विपश्चितां मानसे सातिशयमाश्चर्यं नैव जनयति ।

काशिजनपदस्य काशीपुर्याश्चेतिहासः प्राचीनतमं वैदिककालमुपस्पृशति । काशिजनपदस्य निवासिनः 'काशयः' इति पदेन अथर्ववेदस्य पैप्पलादशाखायां (५।२२।१४)

*. संपूर्णानन्दनन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालयस्य 'सारस्वतीसुषमा' पत्रिकायाः २३।३ (मार्गशीषपूर्णिमा संवत् २०२५) अङ्के प्रकाशितम् ।

शतपथब्राह्मणे च व्यपदिश्यन्ते । शतपथे धृतराष्ट्रनामा काशिराजः काश्यशब्देनाभिहितो विद्यते । असिवरुणाभ्यां दक्षिणस्यामुत्तरस्यां च विद्यमानाभ्यां नदीभ्यां समावृतेयं नगरी वाराणसीत्यन्वर्थकमभिधानं लभते । सेयमथर्ववेदस्य एकस्मिन् सूक्ते (४।७।१) निगूढतरं संङ्केतमावहति, यतः सूक्तेऽस्मिन् निर्दिष्टा वरणावतीं डाक्टरब्लूमफील्ड महाभागो वरुणानदीरूपेण परिचिनोति । वाराणस्या धार्मिकमैतिहासिकं च महिमानं समुद्घोषयन्ति रामायणं महाभारतं पुराणानि च । महाभारतीये समराङ्गणे पाण्डवपक्षमधिश्रित्य युयुधानो कोऽपि पराक्रमी काशिराजः 'काशिराजश्च वीर्यवान्' इति शब्देन सांकेत्यमाधत्ते । मत्स्यपुराणं (१७९ अध्याये), लिङ्गपुराणं (पूर्वार्धे ९२ अध्याये) वामनपुराणं च सचमत्कृति वर्णयन्ति काश्याः समुन्नतान् प्रासादान्, विशालान्युद्यानानि, अभिरामान् तडागान्, सौगन्ध्यपूर्णानि नानावर्णाकृतीनि कुसुमानि च । स्कन्दपुराणस्य काशीखण्डं वाराणस्यां विराजमानानां शिवलिङ्गानां स्थितिं स्वरूपं परस्परतो व्यवधानं च भौगोलिकक्षेत्रनिदर्शनपूर्वकं विशदं विवृणोति । पुराणानुसारं तीर्थस्थलीयं त्रिषु भागेषु विभक्ता किमपि माहात्म्यमातनुते । वाराणस्या दक्षिणो भागः केदारेश्वरेण, मध्यमो भागो विश्वेश्वरेण, उत्तरो भाग ओङ्कारेश्वरेण चाधिष्ठितो विद्यत इति हेतुना एकाऽपि त्रयीवैषा पावनतमा भूतभावनस्य हृदयङ्गमा पावित्र्यस्य प्रकर्षमुद्गिरति ।

काश्या धार्मिकेतिहासो भारतवर्षे लब्धजनुषां नानाधार्मिकसम्प्रदायानामितिहासानां पुञ्जीभूतं स्वरूपमेव । वाराणसेया वैदुषीमण्डिताः पण्डिताः सर्वदैव धर्मस्य धुरं धारयन्तो धार्मिकविवादस्थलेषु निर्णेतृपदमधितस्थुषो विद्वद्गोष्ठीषु किमपि प्रागल्भ्यमालभन्त । व्याख्यातेषु धर्मोपदेशेषु तेषां स्वीकृतिसमाधानहेतोः विचारविमर्शजिज्ञासवः काले काले वरिष्ठा धर्मप्रचारका दार्शनिकसम्प्रदायप्रतिष्ठापनपरायणाः सत्यान्वेषणपराश्च विपश्चितो वाराणसीमिमां समाजग्मुः । तेषु श्रीशङ्कराचार्यप्रभृति-रामानुज-निम्बार्क-मध्व-चैतन्यपर्यन्तं दार्शनिकमतोपस्कर्तारस्तत्त्वज्ञा रामानन्दादारभ्य कबीर-तुलसीदास-नानक-स्वामिदया-नन्दसरस्वतीपर्यन्तं च सन्ताभिधाना भक्त्युपदेशकुशला विपश्चितः समये समये काश्यां निवसन्तोऽस्माभिः समुपलभ्यन्ते ।

एतेषु माहात्म्यमण्डितेषु नव्यमतोपस्थापननिपुणेषु विद्वद्धौरेयेष्वादिशङ्कराचार्या अष्टमशतकस्य प्रारम्भे समाजग्मुः वाराणसीमिमाम् । मणिकर्णिकाघट्टे निवसन्त आचार्यपादा ब्रह्मसूत्रस्योपनिषदां भगवद्गीतायाश्च प्रसन्नगम्भीरं भाष्यमत्रैव निबबन्धुरिति शङ्करदिग्वि-जयस्यानुशीलनं ध्रुवं प्रमाणयति । अद्वैतविचारधारायाः प्रवहन्त्याः सन्ततं संरक्षणायो-र्ध्वाम्नायस्य प्रतिनिधिभूतं साम्प्रतमपि विराजमानं सुमेरुमठं ते प्रस्थापयामासुः । रामानुजाचार्या निम्बार्काचार्या मध्वाचार्याश्चोत्तरभारतस्थतीर्थानां यात्राप्रसंगे काशीमागत्य स्वोपदेशामृतेनात्रत्यान् निवासिनः कंचित् कालं कृतार्थान् विदधुः । चैतन्यमहाप्रभवोऽपि

जगन्नाथपुरीतो वृन्दावनगमनकाले तपनमिश्रस्याऽऽवासे स्थित्वा भक्तिरसस्योपदेशेन भक्ताननेकान् भक्तितत्त्वजिज्ञासून् प्रेमामृतमग्नान् चक्रुः । वल्लभाचार्यास्तु वाराणस्यां बहुकालं व्याप्य निवसन्तः शुद्धाद्वैतपुष्टि-भक्त्योः सामरस्यप्रतिपादकं स्वीयमणुभाष्यमत्रैव विरचय्य कामपि ख्यातिं जग्मुः । पुराणस्थवचनानां सारमिमं समुपन्यस्य वाराणसेयो महाकविः श्रीहर्षः स्वकीये नैषधचरिते महाकाव्ये स्वर्गप्रतिनिधिभूतेयं वाराणसीति विशदं विवृणोति–

वाराणसी निविशते न वसुन्धरायां
तत्र स्थितिर्मखभुजां भुवने निवासः ।
तत्तीर्थमुक्तवपुषामत एव मुक्तिः
स्वर्गात् परं पदमुदेतु मुदे तु कीदृक् ॥

(नैषधचरितम् ११।११६)

काशी न केवलं धार्मिकमेव माहात्म्यमाकलयति, यावत् सम्प्रदायपुरःसरशास्त्रालोचनस्य विद्यानिकेतनभूता न कयापि माहात्म्येनातिशय्यते । उपनिषदां कालादारभ्य शास्त्राध्ययनाध्यापनविधावविच्छिन्नपरम्परावती वाराणसी सातिशयमहत्त्वमयी वर्तत इति के न जानन्त्यैतिहासिकवृत्तविदो विद्यार्जनचयचणाः पण्डिताः । बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि वृत्तमिदं समुपलभ्यते यद् दृप्तं बालाकिगार्ग्यं काशिराजोऽजातशत्रुः शुद्धेन मनसा विशदेन वचसा आत्मतत्त्वरहस्यं समुपदिदेश । आयुर्वेदविज्ञाने शल्यचिकित्सायाः प्रारम्भो वाराणसीत एव बभूव । काशिराजो दिवोदासो धन्वन्तरिर्विद्यामिमां स्वानुभूत्या संवलितां विधाय सुश्रुतमन्यांश्च वैतरणपौष्कलावतादीन् ऋषीन् शास्त्रस्यैतस्य निखिलानि रहस्यान्यध्यापयामास । शल्यचिकित्सा कारणादस्मादेव धान्वन्तरीया विद्येति व्यपदिश्यते तज्ज्ञैरायुर्वेदविज्ञानपारंगतैर्वैद्यैः ।

वाराणसीशासका भूपाला अपि शास्त्रप्रचारस्य ग्रन्थनिबन्धनस्य च कृते सौलभ्यं संपादयन्तोऽत्रत्यान् विद्वद्वर्यान् भृशमुपकृतवन्तः । द्वादशशतके काशिराजजयचन्द्रस्य सभा विद्वद्धौरेयाभ्यामुभाभ्यां संवर्धितप्रभावा कमपि महिमानं प्राप । तत्र श्रीहर्षो न केवल कर्कशतर्कोपबृंहितं द्वैतमतसमीक्षणपरं खण्डनखण्डखाद्यनाम ग्रन्थरत्नं प्रणिनाय, यावत् कोमलकाव्यकलाकलितं ललितं मधुरं नैषधचरितमहाकाव्यमपि विनिर्ममे । जयचन्द्रस्य धर्माधिकारी लक्ष्मीधरभट्टः आचारतीर्थ-व्यवहारादिनानाधर्मशास्त्रीयविषयोपन्यासपुरःसरं स्वीयं कृत्यकल्पतरुरित्यभिधानवन्तं ग्रन्थं विरच्य धर्मशास्त्रीयनिबन्धस्य प्रथमावतरणं विदधे । मध्ययुगे यवनशासकेषु विद्यमानेष्वपि न किमपि ह्रासमन्वभूदियं गीर्वाणवाणी ।

भारतवर्षस्य निखिलेभ्यो जनपदेभ्यो विशिष्य च महाराष्ट्रात् कर्णाटकाद् आन्ध्रप्रदेशाद् वङ्गभूम्या अन्तर्वेदीति नाम्ना विख्याताद् गङ्गायमुनयोरन्तराले विद्यमानात् प्रदेशाच्च ब्राह्मणानां शिक्षादीक्षामण्डितानि बहूनि कुलानि वाराणसीं समाजग्मुः । न केवलं तानि तीर्थयात्रैकपराणि बभूवुः, यावद् विश्वेश्वरपुर्यामस्यां शाश्वतनिवासाय च तेषामत्रागमनं संजातम् । पञ्चदशशतकादारभ्य अष्टादशशतकं यावद् वाराणस्यां शास्त्रानुशीलनस्य महान् समुत्कर्षः साक्षात्क्रियते । शास्त्रशिक्षणस्य चरमोत्कर्षस्तस्मिन् समये बभूवेत्यपि निगदितुं शक्यते । धर्मशास्त्रे, मीमांसायां, वेदे, ज्योतिषे, वैशेषिकेऽद्वैतवेदान्ते, व्याकरणे च यानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि निबद्धानि वाराणसेयैर्विद्वद्धौरेयैस्तानि निखिलेऽस्मिन् भारतवर्षे प्रख्यातिं, प्रागल्भ्यं, प्रसृतिं च भजन्त इति तत्रभवतां पुरतो न बहु वक्तव्यं वर्तते प्रख्याततमानां केषाञ्चित् विद्वत्तल्लजानां नामसंकीर्तनमेव प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् अलं भविष्यति ।

दत्तकमीमांसाया रचयिता धर्माधिकारी नन्दपण्डितः, निर्णयसिन्धोर्निर्माता भट्टकुलावतंसः कमलाकरभट्टः, श्रीमद्भागवतस्य व्याख्याकारः श्रीधरस्वामी, शारदातिलकतन्त्रस्य व्याख्याकारो राघवभट्टः, कणादसूत्रेषु उपस्कारस्य निर्माता शङ्करमिश्रः, भाट्टदीपिकायाः कर्ता मीमांसकमूर्धन्यः खण्डदेवः, वेदान्तसिद्धान्तमुक्तावल्याः प्रणेता प्रकाशानन्दः, तत्त्वदीपनस्य रचयिता अखण्डानन्दः, द्वैतमतखण्डनपूर्वकम् अद्वैतसिद्धान्तस्य प्रतिष्ठापक इव विराजमानोऽद्वैतसिद्धिप्रणेता मधुसूदनसरस्वती, सांख्यप्रवचनभाष्यस्य विज्ञानामृतभाष्यस्य च निर्माणेन सांख्यवेदान्तसिद्धान्तानां समन्वयेच्छुः विज्ञानभिक्षुः, वरिवस्यारहस्यस्य सौभाग्यभास्करस्य च निर्माता तान्त्रिकशिरोमणिः भास्करराय:, प्रक्रियाप्रकाशस्य प्रणेता शेषश्रीकृष्णः, सिद्धान्तकौमुद्याः शब्दकौस्तुभस्य च रचनया पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्य प्रक्रियाक्रमे व्यवस्थापकस्तैलङ्गो भट्टोजिदीक्षितः, त्रिसंस्करणवतीं मञ्जूषां निर्माय पाणिनीय-व्याकरणदर्शनस्य मार्गोपदेशको महाराष्ट्रियो नागोजिभट्टः, साहित्यशास्त्रीयतत्त्वानां रसगङ्गाधरप्रणयनेन प्रोद्दीपकः पण्डितराजो जगन्नाथः, अलंकारकौस्तुभं निर्माय अलंकारशास्त्रे नव्यन्यायरीतिप्रचारकः पर्वतीयो विश्वेश्वरपाण्डेयः–एते विराजन्ते काश्या दार्शनिकतत्त्वचिन्तकाः साहित्यमीमांसामर्मज्ञा विद्वांसः, यैः विशिष्टग्रन्थान् विरच्य सच्छिष्यांश्चाध्याप्य काश्याः कीर्तिर्भूतले सर्वत्रैव प्रसारिता । एतेषां विपश्चितां नामस्मरणमपि श्रेयसे कल्पते ।

सम्राजः शाहजहानस्य पुत्रो दाराशिकोहः पण्डितकमलापतित्रिपाठिनः पूर्वजात् त्रिपाठिरामानन्दात् संस्कृतमध्येतुं वाराणसीमुपेतः । संस्कृतस्य सम्यगध्ययनं विधाय वाराणसेयपण्डितानां साहाय्येनोपनिषदामनुवादः पारसीकभाषायां तेन महानुभावेन विहितः प्रकाशितश्च ।

अष्टादशशतकस्योत्तरार्धे वाराणसी 'ईस्ट ईण्डिया कम्पनी' नाम्नः संस्थानस्य शासकवर्गं स्वस्यै अवधानदानाय आचकर्ष । वाराणस्यां कृतनिवासः कम्पनीप्रदेशस्य शासनाधिकारे नियुक्त आसीत् डंकननामा कोऽपि चरित्रवान् भारतीयानां हितेच्छुराङ्ग्लदेशीयः शासकः । तेनैव कालिकातास्थो लार्डकार्नवालिस-महोदयः शासनस्य सर्वश्रेष्ठां धुरं वहन् वाराणस्यां संस्कृतकालेजस्य संस्थापनाय मुहुर्मुहुरभ्यर्थितः । तदाज्ञयैव एकनवत्यधिकसप्तदशशततमे वर्षेऽष्टाविंशतितमे दिने अक्टूबरमासस्य, धर्मशास्त्रस्य संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य एताभ्यां नितान्तं सम्बद्धस्य हिन्दूधर्मस्याध्ययनाय एका संस्कृतपाठशाला स्थापिता बभूव । आसीदेषा वैशिष्ट्यमण्डिता अध्यापनसंस्था या संस्कृतविद्याया नाना-शास्त्रेषु दीक्षितान् पण्डितपुंगवान् आक्रष्टुं प्रबभूव । तस्यां पाठशालायां वेदस्य, वेदान्तस्य, न्यायस्य, ज्योतिषस्य, मीमांसाया, विशेषतो धर्मशास्त्रस्य, व्याकरणकाव्यशास्त्र-योश्चाध्यापनाय विशदं प्रबन्धमकार्षुरधिकारिपुरुषाः । इयमेव संस्कृतपाठशाला कालान्तरे 'संस्कृत कालेज' इति व्यपदिष्टाऽभवत् । आरम्भिककालस्येतिहासवैकल्यात्तदानीन्तनानां पण्डितानां कार्यजातमनुरुध्य न बहु वक्तव्यं वर्तते साम्प्रतम् । परन्तु एकोनविंशतितमशत-कस्योत्तरार्धे विंशतितमशतकस्य प्रारम्भे च बभूवुरनेके विद्यावदातचरिताः पाण्डित्य-प्रौढिमण्डिताश्च पण्डिताः, यथा—बालशास्त्री रानाडे, दामोदरशास्त्री भारद्वाजः, कैलासचन्द्र-शिरोमणिः, गङ्गाधरशास्त्री मानवल्ली, यागेश्वरशास्त्री, बापूदेवशास्त्री, सुधाकरद्विवेदी, शिवकुमारमिश्राश्च, येषां कीर्तिकौमुदी साम्प्रतमपि धवलयति दिगन्तान् । नेदं विस्मरणीयं नाम यत् प्रख्यातिभाजो यूरोपदेशीयाः संस्कृतज्ञाः कोलब्रूक-विलसन-म्यूर-गफ-ग्रिफिथ-थिबो-वेनिसाख्याः सर्व एव एते महानुभावाः संस्कृतकालेजेन साकं केनाप्यधिकारविशेषेण सम्बद्धा बभूवुः । केचनैतेषु अत्रत्यशास्त्रिभिः शिक्षितविद्याः संस्कृतभाषायाः संस्कृतशास्त्रस्य च विषये भृशमनुरागं भजन्तो देववाण्याः सेवां विदधतो दरीदृश्यन्ते ।

संस्कृतभाषाया अध्ययनस्य संस्कृतेश्च पक्षे काशिराजवंशेन विनीताः सेवाः कृताः । काशिराजैः पूर्वं कलानां शिल्पस्य चापि संवर्द्धनं कृतम् । महाराजचेतसिंहेन सह संजाते युद्धे (एकोनाशीत्युत्तरसप्तदशशततमे खीस्ताब्दे) वारेनहेस्टिंग्जो बलवन्तसिंहस्य हस्तलेखानां संग्रहमपहृतवान्, किन्त्विदानीमपि दरबारसंग्रहे सन्ति बहुमूल्या हस्तलेखाः, ललितानि चित्राणि, यानि मया रामनगरकौतुकागारे सर्वजनोपयोगार्थमुपहारीकृतानि ।

यदा काशिराज्यं भारतसाम्राज्ये विलीनमभूत्, ततः प्रभृत्यखिलभारतीयकाशि-राजन्यासोऽष्टादशमहापुराणानां संशोधने, प्रकाशनेऽनुशीलने च व्यापृतः । इदं तु नितरां खेदावहं यत् पुराणानामध्ययनं साम्प्रतमपि प्राच्यविदुषां चेतांसि दृढं नावर्जयति ।

काशिराजेन सह समयमवलम्ब्य सर जोनाथन डङ्कन महानुभावेन काशिराजस्य संस्कृतपाठशाला संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयत्वेन परिणामिता । अस्यैव संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रतिनिधिभूतो विराजते साम्प्रतमेष वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः । अस्य स्थापना दशवर्षाणि पूर्वं विहिता प्रान्तीयशासनेन । विंशत्या शिक्षणविभागैः, सर्वतः परिपूर्णेनानु-

संधानसंस्थानेन, लक्षपरिमितान् हस्तलेखान् वहता सरस्वतीभवनाख्येन विशालेन ग्रन्थालयेन च समन्वितोऽयं संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः प्राचीनानां सम्प्रदायानुगतपरिज्ञानानां विद्यानां नवीनेन पाश्चात्येन ज्ञानविज्ञानेन साकं समन्वितिं विदधानो गीर्वाणवाण्यैव शिक्षावितरणं कुर्वन् विश्वस्मिन् जगति समधिकमाहात्म्यालंकृतो विराजते ।

अस्यैव विशाले सुसज्जिते प्राङ्गणे समवेतानां नानाविद्यानुशीलनपरायणानां श्रीमतां कृते भूयोभूयः स्वागतं व्याहरामि । भूतभावनं भगवन्तं काशीपतिं विश्वनाथं प्रार्थये । स स्वीयामाशीर्वादततिं प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनायास्मै प्रयच्छतु, येनेदं पारस्परिकविमर्शेन सत्यानुसन्धानाय भृशं साफल्यं व्रजतु ।

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्ति ॥

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July 2001-June 2002)

Purāṇa-work

Critical Edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa

During the period chapters 151 to 175 were composed and their proofs were corrected. Third proof of the first twenty chapters were also corrected. Further chapters are in compose.

Works on the unpublished texts of the Purāṇas

The index of the ślokas of the Vasiṣṭhalinga Purāṇa is in the Press. The Śivadharmapurāṇa in being finalised for the print.

Veda-Pārāyaṇa

The Taittirīya Śākhā was recited in the Vyāseśvara temple in Ramnagar Fort in Māgha Śukla Pakṣa (Jan. 2002).

Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

Many Indian and foreign scholars visited the Purāṇa Department during this period.

Rāmalīlā

The famous Rāmalīlā of Ramnagar, organised by this Trust every year was performed from Bhādrapada Anantacaturdaśī to Āśvina Pūrṇimā (1st Oct-30th Oct 2001). The number of visitors as usual was every day in many thousands and on special days it was in lac. As usual free provisions were given to saints and sadhus for the whole month. Some foreigners were also among the visitors. His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singh daily attended the Rāmalīlā.

Rāsalīlā

As in previous years this year Rāsalīlā was performed in Prasiddha garden of Ramnagar from Śrāvaṇa Śukla Dvitīyā, to Pūrṇimā day (23 July-3 August 2001). The Rāsalila was performed by party of actors of Rāsalīlā (*Rāsamaṇḍalī*) of Vṛndāvana. Recitation of Rādhāsahasranāma

and tenth Skandha of Śrīmadbhāgavata was done by Sri Ganapati Shukla and Sri Arun Kumar Jha daily at Rāsalīlā ground. Local public in huge number daily observed the Rāsalīla. His Highness Kashi Naresh Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singh was daily present in the Rāsalīlā.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

(1) MAHARAJA BENARES VIDYAMANDIR TRUST

(A) Museum

The famous museum run by this Trust is permanent attraction for visitors of Varanasi. Both Indian and foreign visitors visit this museum in good number daily. Its various galleries represent a cultural history of Varanasi for last three centuries.

(B) Dhrupad Mela

Dhrupad Mela organised by this Trust on three consecutive nights on occasion of the Śivarātri festival every year at Tulasighat Varanasi was held on March 10-12, 2002. On 10th March 2002 His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singh inaugurated the Mela. In his inaugural speech Maharaja Anant Narain Singh spoke about the contribution of his late father Mahraja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh for the protection and propagation of music, dance and drama in general and Dhrupad in particular. Eminent experts of Dhrupad from all over the country performed their expertise both in vocal and instrumental systems of music. A good number of people daily attended the Mela.

(C) Mangalotsava

The Mangalotsava organised every year on first Tuesday after Holi was held this year on 2nd April 2002. Eminent artists of Varanasi performed their arts in Chaity, Ṭhumari and Katthak dance.

(2) MAHARAJA UDIT NARAIN SINGH MĀNASA PRACĀR NIDHI

Navahnapārayaṇa and Pravacana of the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulasīdāsa is organised in Kālī's temple of Chakiya every year in the white half of the Vaiśākha month. Eminent Vyāsas of Rāmacaritamāṇasa give discourses at evening for nine days. This year Pārāyaṇa and Pravacana was organised from 13th May to 21th May 2002 (Vaiśākha Śukla Dvitīyā to Daśamī). His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Sri Anant Narain Singh daily attended the Pravacanas.

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सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई २००१-जून २००२)

पुराणकार्यम्

गरुडपुराणकार्यम्

अस्मिन् कार्यावधौ गरुडपुराणस्य पाठसभीक्षितसंस्करणस्य १५१-१७५ अध्यायानां कम्प्यूटर यन्त्रेणाक्षरसंयोजनं संपन्नम् । एषामध्यायानां प्रथमप्रूफनिरीक्षणं च सम्पन्नम् । प्रथमविंशाध्यायानां तृतीयप्रूफसंशोधनमपि संजातम् । अग्रिमाध्यायानामक्षरसंयोजनं प्रचलति ।

अप्रकाशितपुराणानां प्रकाशनम्

वासिष्ठलिङ्गपुराणस्य श्लोकसूची प्रकाशनाधीनं वर्तते । शिवधर्मपुराणस्य हस्तलेखाधारेण प्रकाशनार्थं लेखनं प्रचलति ।

वेदपारायणम्

कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य तैत्तिरीयशाखायाः पारायणं माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे संपन्नम् ।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

न्यासस्य पुराणविभागे बहवो वैदेशिका देशीयाश्च विद्वांस; शोधछात्राश्च समागताः । तेभ्यो वाञ्छिताः सूचनाः प्रदत्ताः ।

रामलीला

अनेन न्यासेन प्रतिवर्षम् आयोजिता विश्रुता रामलीला अनन्तचतुर्दशीतिथिमारम्भ आश्विनपूर्णिमापर्यन्तं (१ अक्टूबर २००१ दिनाङ्कम् आरभ्य ३० अक्टूबर दिनाङ्कं २००१ यावत्) संपन्ना । प्रतिदिनं दर्शकाणां संख्या अनेकसहस्रपरिमिता विशेषदिनेषु च लक्षाधिका आसीत् । साधुभ्यः प्रतिदिनं भोजनसामग्री निःशुल्कं वितरिता । दर्शकेषु केचन वैदेशिका अपि आसन् । तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशा महाराजा श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवाः प्रतिदिनं रामलीलायामुपस्थिता आसन् ।

रासलीला

पूर्ववत् अस्मिन् वर्षे श्रावणशुक्लद्वितीयातिथिमारभ्य श्रावणपूर्णिमातिथिं यावत् (२३ जुलाई-३ अगस्त २००१) रासलीला संपन्ना । रासलीलायाः प्रदर्शनं वृन्दावनीया रामण्डली इत्यनया कृतम् । रासलीलादिनेषु प्रतिदिनं रासलीलाभूमौ श्रीगणपति शुक्लमहोदयेन श्रीअरुणकुमारझामहोदयेन च भागवतस्य दशमस्कन्धस्य राधासहस्रनाम्नां च पाठं कृतम् । प्रतिदिनं बहवो दर्शका रासलीलां दृष्टवन्तः । प्रतिदिनं काशिनरेशा महाराजाः श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवा रासलीलायामुपस्थिता आसन् ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

(१) महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासः

संग्रहालयः

अनेन न्यासेन संचालितः संग्रहालयः वाराणस्यामागतानां यात्रिणां कृते आकर्षणकेन्द्र-भूतो वर्तते । देशीया वैदेशिकाश्च बहुसंख्यकपर्यटकाः समानरूपेण-संग्रहालयस्यावलोकनं कुर्वन्ति । अस्य संग्रहालयस्य बह्व्यः दीर्घिकाः काश्या विगतशताब्दीत्रयस्य सांस्कृतिकेतिहासस्य प्रदर्शनं कुर्वन्ति ।

ध्रुपदमेलापकम्

वाराणस्याः तुलसीघट्टे शिवरात्रिपर्वावसरे त्रिरात्रिकं ध्रुपदमेलापकमस्मिन् वर्षे १0-१२ मार्च २00२ दिनाङ्केषु संपन्नम् । अयं न्यासः प्रतिवर्षमस्य मेलापवकस्यायोजनं करोति । १0 मार्च २00२ दिनाङ्के अस्य मेलापकस्योद्घाटनं तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः महाराजैः श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवैः कृतम् । स्वीयोद्घाटनभाषणे काशिराजैः कीर्त्तिशेषानां काशिराजानां महाराजानां डॉ. विभूतिनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवानां संगीतशास्त्रस्य नाट्यस्य भारतीयकलानां च संरक्षणे प्रचारे च कृतस्य प्रयासस्य उल्लेखः कृतः । कीर्तिशेषैः महाराजैः ध्रुपदस्य प्रचारार्थं विशेषरूपेण प्रयत्नः कृतः । समग्रदेशतः ध्रुपदकलाकाराः ध्रुपदगायनस्य वाद्यस्य च प्रदर्शनं कृतवन्तः । बहुसंख्यकाः संगीतरसज्ञाः मेलापके उपस्थिता आसन् ।

मङ्गलोत्सवः

होलीपर्वानन्तरं प्रथममङ्गलवारे रामनगरदुर्गे मङ्गलोत्सवस्य प्रतिवर्षम् आयोजनं भवति । अस्मिन् वर्षे अस्यायोजनं २ अप्रैल २00२ दिनाङ्के समभवत् । स्थानीया विशिष्टा कलाकारा चैती-ठुमरी गायनस्य कत्थक-नृत्यस्य च प्रदर्शनं कृतवन्तः ।

(२) महाराज उदित नारायण सिंह मानसप्रचारन्यासः

रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपरायणम्

अनेन न्यासेन प्रतिवर्षं चक्रियानगरस्थिते कालीमन्दिप्राङ्गणे वैशाखशुक्लपक्षे तुलसीदासकृतस्य रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपारायणस्य प्रवचनस्यायोजनं भवति । अस्मिन्नवसरे रामचरितमानसस्य विशिष्टव्यासानां सायंकाले प्रवचनं भवति । अस्मिन् वर्षे १३ मई २00२ दिनाङ्कतः २१ मई २00२ दिनाङ्कं यावत् (वैशाखशुक्लद्वितीया-तिथिमारभ्य दशमीतिथिपर्यन्तं) पारायणं प्रवचनं च संपन्नम् । तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशाः महाराजाः श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवाः प्रतिदिनं प्रवचनेषु उपस्थिता आसन् ।

शराजैः
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